

MIKHAIL FRUNZE AND THE UNIFIED MILITARY DOCTRINE

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army
Command and General Staff College in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
Military History

by

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Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

2004

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MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

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ABSTRACT

MIKHAIL FRUNZE AND THE UNIFIED MILITARY DOCTRINE by Major Thomas M. Lafleur 119 pages.

From 1925 to 1991, the Soviet Red Army attempted to epitomize the union of military and political thought. One may wonder just how the Red Army came to be formed in this manner. This thesis attempts to answer that question by addressing the debate over a Unified Military Doctrine beginning in 1921, through the lens of providing a critical analysis of the military and political experiences of its staunchest supporter: Mikhail Frunze. In this paper, it will be argued that, despite the vast military experiences of Mikhail Frunze, his political experiences were more influential in creating the framework from which he crafted his version of a Unified Military Doctrine. These political experiences were shaped by the writings of Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, whose ideology formed the nucleus of the Bolshevik Party. Through his foresight and persistence, Frunze was able to implement his version of the UMD, thus transforming the Red Army and setting the conditions for the subordination of all elements of power to the State.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE THESIS APPROVAL PAGE	ii
ABSTRACT.....	iii
ILLUSTRATION.....	v
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2. POLITICAL EXPERIENCE	12
CHAPTER 3. MILITARY EXPERIENCE: THE RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR	28
CHAPTER 4. MERGING POLITICAL AND MILITARY EXPERIENCE: FRUNZE ENTERS THE UMD DEBATE.....	45
CHAPTER 5. FRUNZE REFINES HIS POSITION	67
CHAPTER 6. IMPLEMENTATION OF UMD AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE RED ARMY	87
CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION	99
GLOSSARY	104
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	105
INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST	107
CERTIFICATION FOR MMAS DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT	108

ILLUSTRATION

	Page
Figure 1. Unified Military Doctrine	49

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Soviet Union was born in the crucible of conflict. The leaders of the Soviet Union emerged from three years of warfare with no experience of governing in peacetime. From the October Revolution of 1917 through the end of the Russian Civil War in November 1920, Soviet military and political leaders took the teachings of Karl Marx and forged them into a Soviet ideology. In the Soviet Union, at the strategic level, this ideology was comprised of the ideas from the extreme radical faction of Russian social democrats, as well as the ideas, thoughts, and observations generated by Soviet military leaders. This Soviet ideology provided direction and purpose to Soviet political, military, and strategic thinking.¹

In his book *On War*, General Carl von Clausewitz wrote “war is a mere continuation of policy by other means.”² Echoing Clausewitz, Vladimir Lenin, the first leader of the Soviet Union, said that war is a continuation of politics. In the minds of Soviet leaders, politics equated to Marxist ideology, the fundamental belief of which is the continual state of conflict between Capitalism and Socialism. According to Lenin, Marxists regard war as a continuation of the policies pursued by governments representing defined classes.³ Therefore, the purpose of the entire Soviet military, to include its leaders, organization, and thought, was the achievement of Marxist political ideals.⁴ In seventy years of Soviet rule, the leadership of the Soviet Union used military force as a political instrument, both internally and externally.⁵ Proceeding from this sharply biased ideological perception of the world, many Soviet leaders advocated doctrinal objectives that were oriented toward fighting an uncompromising and decisive

war with Capitalism until the adversary was totally defeated and the ideas of Socialism were triumphant worldwide.⁶

One such Soviet leader was Mikhail V. Frunze. Frunze was a professional revolutionary who became a prominent military leader and military theoretician.⁷ This thesis will explore the political and military background of Mikhail Frunze, to include his leadership at the Ivanovo strike in 1905, his participation in the October Revolution, his contributions to the success of the Red Army during the Russian Civil War, and the post-Civil War debate on military doctrine. In addition, it will focus on the military and political experiences of Mikhail Frunze and the fierce debate after the Russian Civil War over military doctrine.

This thesis begins with the following primary research question: how did the major military and political experiences in Mikhail Frunze's life impact his efforts to create his version of the Unified Military Doctrine (UMD) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)? Additional research questions that assist in answering the primary question include the following: what were Mikhail Frunze's military experiences? What were Mikhail Frunze's political experiences? What was the Unified Military Doctrine? How did Mikhail Frunze transform the Red Army? The purpose of this paper is to discover how Mikhail Frunze used the lessons that he learned from the major events in his career and his ideological background to help him formulate a concept of UMD.

The chapters that follow seek to provide an answer to these questions. Chapter two will focus on Mikhail Frunze's early political experiences. In this chapter, I will discuss Mikhail Frunze's childhood, his general disposition and personality, his early

military and political experiences, from strikes and agitation in 1905 through the 1917 October Revolution, culminating with Frunze's entry into the Russian Civil War in December 1918. Chapter three will focus on Frunze's military experiences during the Russian Civil War. Chapter four will focus on Mikhail Frunze's entry into the UMD debate, from the end of the Russian Civil War to the 10th Party congress in 1921. At the 10th Party Congress, Frunze presented his concept of a Unified Military Doctrine, in the form of six theses, to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. Chapter five will discuss Frunze's revised theses, written in July 1921 in the form of an article entitled *The UMD and the Red Army*, his speech termed the Ukrainian Theses in early March 1922, and Frunze's final presentation of his theses at the 11th Party Congress in late March 1922. Chapter six will focus on the implementation of the UMD by Frunze, as the senior military officer in the Soviet Union, until his death on 31 October 1925. Chapter seven will provide a conclusion and an analysis of Frunze's relevance to today's military environment.

There are a number of scholars who have written works either on Mikhail Frunze or that refer to Frunze and the Unified Military Doctrine debate. John Erickson, perhaps the best known of these scholars, published the book, *The Soviet High Command: A Military-Political History, 1918-1941*, in 1944. In this book, Erickson portrays Frunze as a jejune, impetuous zealot. Erickson's work often disparages Frunze, because of Frunze's lack of professional military qualifications. This lack of experience was the norm for the Red Commanders, the name for those political activists who were given military command during the Russian Civil War. Not surprisingly, it was these officers who emphasized that Marxist thought should permeate throughout every military task.

Erickson grudgingly admits that almost all Soviet leaders thought well of Frunze by the end of his career. However, Erickson argues that Frunze was not a deep thinker; rather he asserts that Frunze was a low-level ideologue that displayed some small skill at military command. Erickson's book is not specifically about Frunze, which may explain his negative appraisal of Frunze's talents.

In 1990, Jacob Kipp wrote a book for the Soviet Army Studies Office entitled *Mass, Mobility, and the Red Army's Road to Operational Art, 1918-1936*. In this book, Kipp portrays Frunze as a major force (the champion of the left flank) in the UMD debate. While Frunze's views were clearly leftist in the traditional sense of being Socialist and pro-Communist, within the Party, Frunze was more of a centrist who was backed by others because he envisioned a way to focus the many sides of this debate to a single purpose. While Kipp does not address the reasons that Frunze used to establish UMD, nor does he address any of Frunze's experiences, he argues that by 1921, Frunze had identified that the future threat to the Soviet State was Capitalist encirclement.⁸ Kipp states that Frunze was able to convince the Central Committee that future war was inevitable, which caused his UMD reforms to be implemented.

In 1961, Walter Jacobs wrote a dissertation entitled *Mikhail Vasil'evich Frunze and the Unified Military Doctrine*. In 1969, Jacobs published his dissertation in the form of a book entitled *Mikhail Frunze: The Soviet Clausewitz*. In this book, Jacobs portrays Frunze as an original thinker, a military genius, and a highly effective political leader. Jacob's position, that Frunze was a military genius and highly effective political leader, is confirmed by Frunze's service record and corroborated by his autobiography. However, Frunze was not an original thinker; he was a well-read Bolshevik who venerated

Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx. His talent was to be able to apply the writings of Engels and Marx to improve the structure, training, and composition of the Red Army, with some deviation from Marxist ideology based on his personal experiences in the Russian Civil War and his assessment of the situation in the Russian Socialist Federation Soviet Republic (RSFSR).

In 1992, Matthew Hurley wrote a thesis entitled “A Worker’s Way of War: The Red Army’s Doctrinal Debate, 1918-1924.” In this thesis, Hurley portrays Frunze as a “military Communist” who sought to formulate a proletarian military doctrine based solely on the lessons he had learned during the Russian Civil War. Hurley also argues that Frunze won the UMD debate against Leon Trotsky, not because Frunze had the more effective argument, but rather because the political struggle within the Communist Party was geared toward ousting Trotsky. While this paper will not specifically address the political struggle within the Communist Party regarding the UMD debate, it is clear that Frunze was able to convince the majority of the Central Committee, as well as many other Bolshevik military and political officers that the UMD was the proper course of action to take. Keeping in mind that Frunze’s participation in this debate spanned four years, and that he eventually claimed the highest possible post for a military man within the RSFSR, Frunze was obviously both persistent as well as competent, and allusions that the success of the UMD was due to Party squabbling somewhat ignores the effort that Frunze put into the acceptance of his position.

There are several key terms used in this thesis. While most of them will be defined throughout the text and again in the glossary, two key terms, doctrine and UMD, require early, detailed discussion. The first key term is “doctrine.” According to the

United States Army, doctrine is defined as the “fundamental principles by which military forces guide their actions in support of national objectives.” It should be authoritative but requires judgment in application.⁹ In the Soviet Union, “military doctrine” was often defined in terms of specific questions or problems facing the Red Army. Convinced that he had discovered a new “proletarian method of warfare” during the Russian Civil War, a method based on maneuver and offensive action, Frunze and other military Communists wanted a class-based doctrine.¹⁰ Frunze stated that the character of a military doctrine depended on the general political line of the social class which ruled it, and claimed that a doctrine’s vitality was based on its “strict compliance with the general goals of the State and with those material and spiritual resources which are at its disposal.”¹¹ The offensive character of the pre First World War German military doctrine greatly influenced Frunze when he revised his theses in July 1921. After analyzing German, French, Tsarist, and English military doctrine, along with the views of various Soviet military writers, Frunze placed aspects of doctrine in two dimensions: the technical and the political. The technical dimension of doctrine comprised everything relating to the organization of the Red Army, the kind of preparation for combat that troops should undergo, and the means of achieving combat goals. The political dimension of doctrine included the dependence of the technical dimension on the general structure of the State, which defines the social environment for military work and the nature of military missions.¹² He argued that:

The major feature of German military doctrine in its technical dimension is an extremely pronounced offensive spirit . . . training and education of troops were conducted on the basis of offensive tactics and, in the final analysis, yielded a perfect military force . . . which later demonstrated its outstanding fighting capabilities on the gigantic battlefields of the imperialist war.¹³

The second key term in this thesis is unified military doctrine (UMD). UMD was defined as those fundamental principles by which the military forces of the USSR guided their actions in support of State objectives. The debate over UMD was not new in the 1920s. Prior to the First World War, several Tsarist Army officers attempted to develop and adopt a UMD.¹⁴ In this pre-revolutionary debate, General V. E. Borisov suggested that Alexander Suvorov's work, *Science Triumphs*, should serve as the base for a unified doctrine. According to Borisov, the core of a Russian military doctrine should be a bold offensive strategy and tactics that corresponded to the nature of the Russian soldier.¹⁵

General A. A. Neznamov, a Tsarist officer and professor at the Nicholas Academy of the General Staff, advocated a Unified Military Doctrine that envisaged broad preparations on the part of the nation and the people for a forthcoming war. Neznamov's points on doctrine included a view that the society in whole would be geared for war, with an organized armed forces, children raised on military virtues, and clear field regulations to instruct and inform commanders, as well as to serve as rallying points for the masses in the army.¹⁶ Some of Neznamov's critics, and most opponents of UMD, argued that his proposed Unified Military Doctrine amounted to little more than an ill-defined conglomeration of foreign views and tactics that would only stifle creative thought and promote canned solutions to complex military problems.

In essence, the debate by Red Army officers over the UMD in 1921 was a continuation of the efforts that were made by Tsarist officers on the eve of the First World War, a debate that was hamstrung by the Tsar, and ultimately overcome by the events of 1914.¹⁷ However, toward the end of this later debate, Frunze suggested the following definition of Unified Military Doctrine:

Unified Military Doctrine comprises the teachings adopted by the army of a particular State which establishes the character of the development of the armed forces and the methods used in combat training and troop management based on the State's prevailing views on the nature of the military missions lying before it and the means of executing them, which reflect the class nature of the State and are determined by the country's level of economic development.¹⁸

Frunze's position on UMD debate clearly evolved over time, marked by four major points: the 10th Party Congress address, the *UMD and the Red Army* article, the Ukrainian Theses, and the 11th Party Congress address. At the 10th Party Congress, Frunze espoused six theses, which explained his belief that a UMD was necessary, that it must reflect Marxist doctrine, and that it was unique to the Soviet State, due to Engels' position that the proletariat had a distinct way of war. That was the extent of his analysis, allowing his opponents to heap criticism on him for failure to provide a framework for what exactly UMD consisted of. In the *UMD and the Red Army* article, as well as in the Ukrainian Theses speech, Frunze expanded upon and clarified his position to include explaining the offensive nature of the Proletarian State, the basis for his beliefs that a Proletarian State has a unique way of war, the use of initiative and maneuver, and that training must reflect Marxist thought. He was still unclear regarding which specific course of action should be taken in order to achieve UMD, but his ideas had begun to solidify.

Finally, during his presentation at the 11th Party Congress, Frunze had condensed his thoughts regarding UMD to five fundamental theoretical tasks, five basic factors, and five statements that encompassed the direction the Red Army must take in order to implement UMD. According to Mikhail Frunze, the UMD consisted of five basic factors: political, communication network, human and material resources, barracks and billets, and transportation. Frunze believed that the total commitment of a nation's

population and resources increased the importance of preparation and planning. Frunze stated that the Red Army must be “unified from top to bottom by a community of views both on the character of military tasks themselves and on the means of their solution.”¹⁹ Finally, Frunze categorized the contents of a military doctrine into technical and political components, much like his basic definition of doctrine. On the technical side, Frunze subdivided aspects of the UMD into questions of training, organization, and methods of solving combat problems. On the political side, Frunze subdivided aspects of the UMD into the character of military problems (class conflict) and the relationship of the armed forces to the general system of State life.

It was clear that Frunze’s position regarding UMD continued to evolve well into 1925, when he wrote *The Front and Rear in Future War*, when he predicted the necessity to transition to total war during peacetime, in order to prepare for the inevitable clash with Capitalism. His evolution of political-military thought was likely a result of his insistence on continual reflection of Marxist doctrine, his increased scope of duties as the Commissar of War, and the results of the report he commissioned to discover lessons learned from the First World War. The specific points and contradictions within Frunze’s evolving definitions of UMD will be brought out in greater detail in chapter four.

The main primary source documents that will be used in this paper come from the *Izbranniye Proizvedenniiia* (Selected Works) of Mikhail Frunze. This is a 560-page compilation of Frunze’s works. Some of the many writings of Frunze that provide additional insight or clarity to this thesis include Frunze’s Autobiography, the *Red Army and Her Missions*, the *Reorganization of the Red Army*, *The UMD in the Red Army*, *Memories from the Civil War*, the *Way of Military Organization*, the *Front and Rear in*

Future War, and *Questions of Higher Military Education*. In addition to these articles, the Selected Works has a list of the main events that occurred in Frunze's life in the form of Frunze's Service Record.

In sum, this thesis will show that, despite Mikhail Frunze's extensive military accomplishments, he was more heavily influenced by his political theory and experiences when he framed his arguments for the Unified Military Doctrine of the USSR, and subsequently imposed reforms for the Red Army. These political experiences, such as agitation at Ivanovo in June 1905 and the illicit creation of a Bolshevik cell in Minsk during the First World War, were done under the orders of the Bolshevik Party, as well as the framework of Engels and Marxist doctrine. While the theoretical military writings of Engels heavily influenced Frunze in his creation of his version of the UMD, Frunze was also influenced by the practical conditions he observed in the Soviet State as both a political and military leader, such as the peasant to worker ratio, the general technological backwardness of the Red Army and the Soviet State, and lack of common purpose between the State and the Red Army.

¹Andrei A. Kokoshin, *Soviet Strategic Thought, 1917-1991* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1998), 1.

²Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* (London: Penguin Group, 1982), 119.

³Kokoshin, 23.

⁴Matthew M. Hurley, *A Worker's Way of War: The Red Army's Doctrinal Debate: 1918-1924* (Seattle: University of Washington MA thesis, 1991), 112.

⁵*Ibid.*, 1.

⁶Kokoshin, 1.

⁷*Ibid.*, 29.

⁸Jacob W. Kipp, *Mass, Mobility, and the Red Army's Road to Operational Art, 1918-1936*, (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Soviet Army Studies Office, 1990), 17.

⁹HQDA, FM 101-5-1 *Operational Terms and Graphics* (Washington: HQDA, September 30, 1997), paragraph 1-55.

¹⁰Hurley, 3.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 47.

¹²Kokoshin, 30.

¹³Mikhail Frunze, "Edinaia Voennaia Doktrina I Krasnaia Armia" (Unified Military Doctrine and the Red Army). In *Izbrannye Proizvedeniia* (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1977), 9.

¹⁴Kokoshin, 26.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 28. Kokoshin refers to Neznamov's article of 22 March 1920 that appeared in *Voennaya Dela* number 4.

¹⁷Hurley, 17.

¹⁸Kokoshin, 8. An alternate definition is given by Matthew Hurley, who translates the above passage in the following way: "The teaching accepted in a given State's army that establishes the character of the development of the country's armed forces, the methods of the combat training of troops, their leadership based on the dominant views of the State, the character of military problems before the State and methods of their resolution resulting from the State's class character and determined by the level of development of the country's productive forces."

¹⁹Hurley, 45.

CHAPTER 2

POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

I give myself wholly to the Revolution. Mikhail Frunze, 1905¹

This chapter will discuss the early political experiences of Mikhail Frunze from his youth to December 1918, when Frunze was selected to be the Commander of the Fourth Red Army. These early political experiences were critical to the later formation of Frunze's concepts of the UMD, because they taught him to take the initiative, to always remain loyal to the Bolshevik Party, and to constantly pursue the offense. All three of these traits were part and parcel of Marxist doctrine, a doctrine to which Frunze was exposed at the age of nineteen, and he decided to devote his life to follow and implement this doctrine. Just as important, when Frunze used these tenets of Marxism, he always accomplished his mission in a highly successful way. This great success was instrumental to the rapid promotion that followed Frunze wherever he went.

Mikhail Vasilyevich Mikhailov-Frunze was born on 21 January 1885 (2 February according to the modern calendar) in the city of Pishpek (modern-day Bishkek), region of Semirechia, administrative division of Turkistan.² His father Vasily was of peasant origin, born in the Zakharovsk area of the Tiraspol district of Kherson province in present-day Moldova. By nationality, Vasily Frunze was a Moldovan.³ Upon entering into military service, Vasily was sent to Turkistan with the staff of the imperial forces of the Tsar, and served as a military medical attendant.⁴ At the end of his military service, Vasily remained in Semirechia, where he served as a medical assistant.⁵ Vasily died in

1897, when Mikhail was twelve years old. His mother, Mavra Bochkareva, was a Russian peasant from the Voronezh district, having moved in the 1870's from Semirechia.⁶

Mikhail was the second of five children. He attended elementary school in Pishpek and graduated with a gold medal from the gymnasium in the city of Verny in 1904.⁷ Though his grades were not outstanding, Frunze became the top student in his class because he was energetic and popular. He received the highest marks in such areas as "attention," "application," and "conduct," and he did have a natural gift for languages, reading English, German, and French.⁸ Frunze noted that his first acquaintance with revolutionary ideas was during the time at the gymnasium, where he "participated in the kind of self-education taught in the bars and clubs."⁹

After graduation from the gymnasium, Frunze was enrolled in the prestigious St. Petersburg Polytechnic Institute. In his first year of university life, Frunze became a member of the Russian Social-Democrat Worker's Party (RSDRP). From the first moment of student life, Frunze wrote that, "right away I flocked to the Bolshevik movement."¹⁰ From the end of 1904, Frunze became an active participant in several different activities of the Bolshevik organization. In November 1904, Tsarist police arrested Frunze, who was taking part in a student demonstration near Kazan Cathedral in St. Petersburg. Frunze gave his name as "Boris Tachaiskii" from Petrovsk, and the police transported him to Petrovsk, as was the custom of the time.¹¹ After being released, he promptly took out formal membership in the RSDRP, the first of many decisive acts that marked Frunze as much more mature man than his age showed.¹² Frunze officially became a member of the RSDRP in November 1904.¹³

Frunze returned to St. Petersburg in January 1905. Shortly thereafter, Frunze wrote a letter to his mother that revealed the course for the rest of his life. Frunze explained his future calling by saying that the “events of January 9, 1905 must be atoned for. I give myself wholly to the revolution.”¹⁴ The “events of 9 January 1905” to which Frunze referred in his letter, later known as “Bloody Sunday,” came about when the founder of the Assembly of Russian Workers, George Gapon, led a large group to present a petition to Tsar Nicholas II, calling for the reduction of the working day to eight hours, an increase in wages, and an improvement in working conditions. When the procession of workers reached the Winter Palace, Tsarist police and Cossack guards attacked it. Over 100 workers were killed and over 300 wounded. This incident signaled the start of the 1905 Revolution.¹⁵

After Bloody Sunday, Frunze left the Petersburg Polytechnic Institute to carry out Party agitation in Shuya, in the Vladimir region, taking the Bolshevik cause to the workers to instill in them Marxist thought. Frunze first participated in armed insurrection at this time, when he led a group of workers from Shuya into Moscow in February 1905, and fought in the Triumphal Square, where he and his men captured a machine gun from imperial troops.¹⁶ This was an unconventional military action; the type that Engels said would be necessary to build support for the coming revolution. Though the worker’s revolt was put down nine days later, Frunze’s part in it was a complete success. At the end of the revolt, Frunze left Moscow with his workers and returned to Shuya.

After a brief time in Shuya, Frunze posed as a worker in the Ivanovo-Voznesensk industrial region. Frunze was one of the organizers and leaders of the famous Ivanovo labor strike of textile workers in 1905, which encompassed all heavy industry in the

Ivanovo-Voznesensk region.¹⁷ He was arrested near the river Talka, due to his chanting shouts of “Down with Autocracy” and was sent to Kazan, another falsely listed home.¹⁸ He was released after he gave written understanding that he would not leave Kazan. After his release, he went immediately to Shuya. While this strike did not end successfully for the workers of Ivanovo, the vast number of people involved in the strike helped to raise awareness for the plight of the workers, as well as getting Frunze noticed by his regional Party headquarters.

Due to his agitation work in the Ivanovo strike, the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Russian Social-Democratic Party apparatus selected Frunze as its representative to the Fourth United Congress of the RSDRP in Stockholm, Sweden.¹⁹ At the Congress, Frunze reportedly spoke with the leader of the Bolshevik Party, Vladimir Lenin, about the military aspects of the January Revolution and the Moscow uprising.²⁰ Frunze told Lenin “the Bolsheviks must know military affairs and must have their own officers who are superior to the Tsarist officers.”²¹ Lenin agreed with Frunze, and referred him to Engels’ work entitled “Anti-Duhring,” in which Engels noted that revolutionists must master military skills by necessity. While it may seem odd that this twenty one-year-old student of Economics would be discussing military aspects of the 1905 Revolution with Lenin, it is not inconsistent with the teachings of Engels, which said that professional revolutionaries must always think militarily. It was likely that Lenin respected this serious approach from such a young Bolshevik, especially if Lenin had already heard of Frunze’s role in the Ivanovo strike. Another explanation might be that Lenin wanted to personally interview Bolsheviks who took active military roles in the revolution to

compile lessons for future attempts. In any case, Frunze was showing an early interest in military affairs.

Due to his early string of successes, Frunze became the organizer of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk district organization, and later led the Ivanovo-Voznesensk union RSDRP, which encompassed the city of Ivanovo-Voznesensk and the entire Ivanovo-Voznesensk industrial region. Frunze was expelled from St. Petersburg Polytechnic Institute in the winter of 1905, due to excessive absences, but he reapplied to the institute, and was reenrolled in June 1906. He was expelled again in the spring of 1907, once again for excessive absences.

In March 1907, Frunze's regional Party headquarters selected him to be their delegate to the 5th United Congress of the RSDRP, but Tsarist police arrested him before he could go.²² From the beginning of 1904 to the beginning of 1907, Frunze's active, offensive style of agitation subjected him to arrest and release many times, but on 24 March 1907, the Tsarist police arrested and held him under charges of being a member of the RSDRP and for distribution of illegal literature.²³ He was convicted of both charges and sentenced to four years of hard labor in Vladimir Region.²⁴

While in prison, Tsarist police accused Frunze of yet another crime, this one much more serious; the attempted murder of a policeman.²⁵ On 26 January 1909, Frunze stood trial for a second time and once again was found guilty and sentenced to death. However, because convincing evidence was lacking, the judge's decision was annulled, and a new judge was appointed. The second judge again reduced the sentence to six years of hard labor with an additional six years of confinement.²⁶ Frunze served in Vladimir prison until June 1912, when he was transferred to Nikolaev prison due to tuberculosis.²⁷

Due to good conduct, Frunze was released from penal servitude in March, 1914.²⁸ He went into internal exile in Siberia, to a settlement in the Verkholensk region of the Irkutsk district at the end of 1914.²⁹ In July 1915, Tsarist police arrested Frunze once more, again for revolutionary activities, agitation, and membership in the RSDRP. Even though Frunze knew that he faced execution if he were arrested again, his loyalty to the Bolshevik Party and his commitment to their cause gave him no alternative but to continue agitation. He escaped captivity in August and fled to Chita in the Transbaikalian region, where he entered into service in the Regional Resettlement Administration and led workers in a statistics department. At the same time, Frunze began underground work in the Party press in Chita.³⁰ Frunze continually took on additional responsibility and missions that were not directed by any higher authority in the Party. This trait of taking the initiative was the principle reason for Frunze's early success, and why members of the Bolshevik Party respected him.

At the end of 1915, Frunze and several comrades created a Bolshevik weekly publication entitled *Eastern Review*.³¹ Frunze was one of its editors. "At the beginning of March 1916," Frunze wrote, "I began to throw myself into service in the Regional Resettlement Administration in the city of Chita."³² Again, Frunze's initiative and offensive minded philosophy drove him to do his utmost for the good of the Party. However, in April 1916, Tsarist police once again discovered his activities, and moved to arrest him. Due to sheer luck, Frunze escaped arrest and fled to Moscow.³³

During the past eight years, Mikhail Frunze showed tremendous dedication and loyalty to the Bolshevik Party by successfully agitating while at the same time subjecting himself to arrest on numerous occasions. All the while, he accomplished Party goals by

seizing the initiative and acting in an aggressive and offensive manner. His desire to accomplish Party goals, as well as his ability to assess the situation and act in an aggressive manner, set the tone for the way Frunze would approach solving problems in his future postings within the Party. Gaining the initiative and pursuing the offense were two of the cornerstones of Frunze's approach to UMD.

Frunze went to Moscow Party headquarters in April 1916. The headquarters told Frunze to go to the Western Front in Minsk and begin to agitate under cover of a military volunteer, which he did without hesitation.³⁴ The paperwork for his first enlistment was done incorrectly, but he quickly enlisted for a second time after being temporarily discharged. Over the next several months, Frunze fulfilled the following duties: statistician, assistant regional head of economic affairs, regional head of economic affairs, and finally the head of economic affairs department for the All-Russian People's Union for the 10th Army until 1 March 1917.³⁵ His initiative earned him meritorious promotions within the Provisional Government's 10th Army, while at the same time, Frunze was accomplishing his main mission -- the clandestine supervision and development of illegal Bolshevik revolutionary organizations. During the First World War, Mikhail Frunze raised several Bolshevik cells among the Russian soldiers fighting near Minsk, cells that would serve the Bolshevik Party in good stead in early 1917.³⁶

From the beginning of the February Revolution in 1917, Frunze was one of the main leaders of the revolutionary movement in Minsk, Byelorussia, and on the Western Front. During the February 1917 Revolution, Frunze led the Bolshevik cells that he had developed in Minsk, while at the same time becoming the chief of the civilian militia in Minsk. Before long, the Bolshevik Party appointed him President of the Byelorussian

Soviet. At the same time, Frunze became the head of the Bolshevik revolutionary organization with his headquarters in Minsk. While this seems to be a great deal of responsibility bestowed upon a 32 year old man, Frunze had several qualifications that showed the Party that he deserved this opportunity. First of all, Frunze had never failed a mission, and the missions that he took on were of vital importance to the Bolshevik cause. Secondly, Frunze was extremely loyal to the Bolshevik Party, agitating until sentenced to jail, serving his time in jail, and agitating again upon release. Frunze would never become a political opportunist. He remained a true believer in the Marxist cause throughout his meteoric career.

At the time of the February Revolution, Frunze had branches of his clandestine organization in both the 10th and the 3rd Armies.³⁷ Frunze, and others like him, created clandestine cells such as these before the February Revolution, organizations whose primary function was to disrupt Tsarist activities and sow discord among Imperial forces.³⁸ These cells continued to agitate against the Provisional Government after the February Revolution.

After the Tsar's fall, Frunze facilitated the disarmament of Minsk policemen and locals who were sympathetic to the Tsar, and became the leader of the Minsk Citizen's Militia. He was the organizer of the Minsk Council of Worker's Deputies and in March 1917 and became a permanent member of its Executive Committee. From 18 April 1917, he was the organizer of the Council of Peasant's Deputies in Byelorussia, and he facilitated two Congresses of Byelorussian Peasants.³⁹ Frunze had been given an order by the Bolshevik Party headquarters to agitate in Minsk, and, through his initiative, loyalty and offense-minded approach, accomplished this task by creating an infrastructure that,

when the time was right, fell in on the positions of the now-ousted Tsarist government employees. His organizations went from clandestine to active agitation, to competent administration of Minsk in a seamless manner. It is probable that his loyalty was noticed at the headquarters of the Bolshevik Party.

Most likely Frunze became the Chairman of the Council of Peasant's Deputies in Byelorussia and the Chairman of its Executive Committee because of his loyalty, mission accomplishment, and aggressiveness. Frunze was also a member of the Presidium of All-Russian Congress of Peasant's Deputies from the Byelorussian region. He was one of the organizers of the Congress of the Army of the Western Front and, due to the successful results of the congress, became a member of the Front Committee of the Army of the Western Front. In addition to these responsibilities, Frunze was an editor of the Bolshevik gazette published in Minsk.⁴⁰ In the days of the Kornilov affair, an attempt by conservative General Kornilov to confront Kerensky's Provisional Government, the session of the Front Committee and the Executive Committee of the Minsk council selected Frunze to become the Chief of Staff of the Revolutionary Forces of Minsk region of the Front Committee of the Army of the Western Front.⁴¹ These organizations were separate from the structures of Alexander Kerensky's government on the Western Front. Kerensky was the leader of the Provisional Government after the February Revolution, but he was not a Bolshevik. Kerensky was a dedicated Social Revolutionary. This would have precluded Frunze from actively working to help accomplish Kerensky's purposes.

In May 1917, the Bolshevik Party leadership selected Frunze to be a delegate to the First Congress of Soviets of Peasant Deputies in Petrograd. While at the Congress, he again spoke with Vladimir Lenin, who directed him to return to Ivanovo-Vozhnesensk.

Frunze returned to the Ivanovo region on 26 August 1917, as Chairman of the Shuya Soviet of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Deputies. At the end of August, he went to the city of Shuya, where he was selected as the Chairman of Shuya City Council and simultaneously the Chairman of the Shuya People's Council on 15 September 1917. On 25 September 1917, Frunze was selected to be the Representative for the Conference in St. Petersburg, and he was the Chairman of the Shuya People's Council and District Commissar of Justice.

At the time of the October Revolution, he became the head of the Armed Forces of Shuya-Ivanovo region, and went to Moscow on 28 October 1917. On 30 October 1917, Frunze decided to order his workers to come to Moscow to aid in the revolution.⁴² Frunze commanded about 2,000 armed men, consisting of workers and former members of the 89th and 237th Infantry Regiments.⁴³ He stormed the Hotel Metropole, which served as a center of non-Bolshevik activity, and took the hotel for the Bolsheviks. Then he assisted in the assault on the Kremlin. After securing the Kremlin for the Bolsheviks, the Party ordered Frunze to return to Shuya with his workers, as control had been established in Moscow and industrial production needed to resume in Ivanovo.⁴⁴ While some sources discount the role that Frunze played in the October Revolution, his initiative to bring 2,000 workers to Moscow to assist in the consolidation of power for the Bolsheviks may have turned the tide in their favor. Frunze's offensive against the Hotel Metropole, as well as his aggressive assault against the Kremlin, supported the momentum of the Bolshevik cause. The technique of using initiative and aggressive offensive action to win the objective would be the trademark of Mikhail Frunze in his military career, as shown in the Russian Civil War.

After Frunze returned to Shuya, he, along with other aggressive Bolshevik leaders, completed the consolidation and reorganization of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk district. After the Ivanovo-Vozhnesensk district had become tranquil, the regional Party headquarters selected Frunze for various important Party posts within the district. His span of control included the Shuya district, as well as the Ivanovo-Voznesensk region of the Committee of the Bolshevik Party. In late 1917, Frunze was a delegate to all Party Congresses of Soviets after the Second Congress. He also represented Vladimir province in the All-Russian Constituent Assembly of the Bolshevik Party.⁴⁵ In December 1917, Frunze represented Vladimir province for the All-Russian Emergency Meeting.

Frunze wielded increased influence with decision makers by virtue of his position of Government Commissar of the Textile Industry.⁴⁶ The Ivanovo-Voznesensk region was the most productive region in all of Russia with regard to textiles, and most likely due to Frunze's earlier experience as a worker in Ivanovo in 1905, his aggressiveness, and his intense Party loyalty, he held this vital post. Most importantly, in March 1918, he became the Representative of the Ivanovo-Vozhnesensk Province Executive Committee. From 15 March 1918 to 20 May 1918, he was the Provincial Military Commissar for Ivanovo-Vozhnesensk. In the course of the spring and summer of 1918, along with the fulfillment of his major posts, Frunze had additional Party obligations, such as executing duties as the Representative of the Provincial Council of People's Administrators. In July 1918, Frunze was both the Chairman of Ivanovo-Vozhnesensk province Executive Committee, and the Chairman of the provincial Council of People's Deputies.

Most importantly for Frunze's future path, the Central Committee chose Frunze to be the Provincial Military Commissar, and in August 1918, by virtue of his post as the

Provincial Military Commissar, Frunze was instrumental in putting down the July 1918 uprising in Yaroslavl'. This revolt, organized by B. Savinkov, was a serious affair. White officers, with the support of some of the peasant population, seized the center of the town, some steamers, and a large quantity of military stores. Several Soviet officials were arrested in their homes and shot. In order to put down the revolt, additional forces from Moscow, Kostroma, and Vologda concentrated against Yaroslavl'. The mobilization decreed by the Whites in the town did not prove successful, because relatively few peasants followed them. After intensive bombardment by Red artillery, the town fell to Red Army troops on 3 August 1918.⁴⁷ From 26 September 1918 to 2 October 1918, Frunze was on temporary duty to Moscow. This trip, most likely to provide an after action report for the Yaroslavl' revolt, set the conditions for his next posting. On 30 September, he received a telegram from the head of the People's Military Command (NARKOMVOEN) Yurineva which had selected Frunze to be the Regional Commissar of the Yaroslavl' Military Region.⁴⁸

Frunze spent the next six weeks traveling around his district to get a sense of the scope of the problems of his new assignment. He spent a week in Vladimir, several weeks in Moscow, and a week in Shuya.⁴⁹ Less than three months from his appointment as the Regional Commissar, Frunze was selected to be the Commander of the 4th Army in the Eastern Front. This was not a surprise, considering the effective way that Frunze handled the Yaroslavl' revolt, his effective leadership in the various Party posts that he held over the previous fourteen months, and Frunze's background in successful low-level military operations, such as his actions in the October Revolution and in the Revolution of 1905. At this point, the key lessons of Frunze's life remained the concepts of taking

the initiative as soon as possible, conducting offensive operations to retain the initiative and to overwhelm the enemy, and continued loyalty to the Bolshevik Party. These lessons carried Frunze through duties as a military commander, and made Frunze one of the most effective of the Red Commanders of the Russian Civil War.

¹ Mikhail V. Frunze, letter to mother in February 1905 as cited in <http://www.sparticus.schoolnet.co.uk/RUSsunday.htm> accessed on 15 April 2004.

²There are two documents that will be used in this paper to describe details of Mikhail Frunze's background. The first source is Mikhail V. Frunze. *Avtobiografiya M.V. Frunze* (Autobiography of Mikhail V. Frunze) in *Izbrannye Proizvedeniia*, (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1977), (hereafter cited as autobiography), and the second document is Mikhail V. Frunze. *Pasluzhnoi Spisok na Frunze-Mikhailova Mikhail Vasilyevicha* (The Service Record of Mikhail V. Frunze), in *Izbrannye Proizvedeniia* (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1977), (hereafter cited as service record). The autobiography of Mikhail Frunze was written in 1921, when Frunze was the Soviet People's Commissar of the Ukrainian SSR and commander of the forces of Ukraine and the Crimea. The Service Record of Frunze-Mikhailov, Mikhail Vasilyevich, compiled on 20 January 1923. When the information in these two documents differs, an explanation will occur in an endnote.

³In the Service Record, Frunze claims to be of Russian nationality, despite the Moldovan heritage of his father. This could be due to the fact that Frunze considered Russian to be the language of his birth.

⁴Andrei A. Kokoshin, *Soviet Strategic Thought, 1917-1991* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1998), 29.

⁵In the Service Record, Frunze claimed that his parents were peasants, defined by the 1994 edition of The Merriam-Webster Dictionary as any of a class of small landowners or laborers tilling the soil or an uneducated person of low social status. This distinction is important, because Vasily Frunze was an educated man as the assistant of a doctor. The claim of peasant parentage may have been a way for the young Frunze to gain greater acceptance into the Russian Social-Democratic Party.

⁶Walter Darnell Jacobs, *Mikhail Vasilyevich Frunze and the Unified Military Doctrine* (New York: Columbia University Dissertation in Political Science, 1961), 9 (hereafter cited as Jacobs).

⁷Walter Darnell Jacobs, *Frunze: The Soviet Clausewitz 1885-1925*, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff), 1969, 6, (hereafter cited as Jacobs2). The receipt of the gold medal for academic excellence may help explain how Frunze was allowed to attend the Petrograd Polytechnical Institute.

⁸Service Record, 3.

⁹Autobiography. Translations of the Autobiography and Service Record were done from Russian to English by the author. As with the rest of this paper, all errors in translation are mine and mine alone.

¹⁰Autobiography, 1.

¹¹Jacobs, 11.

¹²Jacobs2, 7.

¹³Service Record, 3. Frunze had a membership organization and number of Moscow, #828033

¹⁴Jacobs2, 5.

¹⁵<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/RUSsunday.htm> accessed on 15 April 2004.

¹⁶Jacobs2, 8.

¹⁷Autobiography, 1.

¹⁸Jacobs2, 8. During the worker's strike in Ivanovo, Frunze took the name of Trifonych.

¹⁹Ibid. Frunze went to Stockholm under the alias "Arsenii."

²⁰Jacobs, 14. Jacobs refers to page 56 of a text entitled *Voennaia Deiatel'nost' V.I. Lenina* by Colonel Danil Maksimovitch Grinishin which was published in Moscow, 1957 in the journal *Voennoe isdatel'stvo*.

²¹Jacobs2, 9.

²²Autobiography, 1.

²³Jacobs2, 9. According to Jacobs 15, he gave another false name, this time "Boris Konstantinovich Tachaiskii," but he did not fool the authorities.

²⁴Autobiography, 1.

²⁵Ibid., 2.

²⁶Jacobs2, 10. Over the course of his seven years in Tsarist prisons, Frunze was incarcerated in the regions of Vladimir, Nikolayev, and Alexandrov.

²⁷Jacobs, 16.

²⁸Autobiography, 2.

²⁹Jacobs2, 10.

³⁰Ibid., 12. Frunze fled under the alias of “Vladimir Grigor’yevich Vasilenko.” There is some dispute with the assumed last name of Frunze; the Service Record gives it as “Vasinenko” where the autobiography gives the pseudonym as “Vasilenko.”

³¹Autobiography, 2.

³²Ibid.

³³Service Record, 4. This time he fled under the assumed name of ‘Mikhail Alexandrovich Mikhailov’

³⁴Ibid., 5. In May 1916, under the name of Mikhailov, Frunze entered into military service by enlisting as a volunteer in the 57th Artillery Brigade.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Erickson, John. *The Soviet High Command: A Military-Political History, 1918-1941* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1944), 6.

³⁷Autobiography, 2.

³⁸Rice, Condoleezza. *The Making of Soviet Strategy*, in Paret, Peter, ed. *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986), 650.

³⁹Autobiography, 2.

⁴⁰This newspaper was called “*Star*.”

⁴¹Service Record, 6.

⁴²Jacobs2, 11. In the Autobiography, Frunze said that he went to Moscow with his forces on 30 October, but in the Service Record, it says that Frunze went to Moscow with his forces on 26 October.

⁴³Jacobs, 18. Regarding the storming of the Hotel Metropole and the assault on the Kremlin, Jacobs cites Sergei Arkad’evich Sirotinskii, *Put’ Arseniia: Biograficheskii ocherk o M. V. Frunze* (Moscow: Voennoe izdatel’stvo, 1956), 109.

⁴⁴Jacobs2, 12. Jacobs cites Pavel Mikhailovich Ekzempliarskii, *Istoriia Goroda Ivanova* (History of the city of Ivanovo) (Ivanovo: Ivanovskoe knizhnoe izdatel’stvo, 1958), Part I.

⁴⁵Autobiography, 3.

⁴⁶Service Record, 6.

⁴⁷David Walters, trans. The Military Writings of Leon Trotsky, at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/works/1918-mil/ch18.htm> accessed 15 April 2004.

⁴⁸Service Record, 6.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 7. The multiple temporary duty assignments to Moscow probably entailed more than familiarization with his new duties. Most likely, they also entailed a final interview for the position of Commander, 4th Army.

CHAPTER 3

MILITARY EXPERIENCE: THE RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

During the Russian Civil War, the majority of the Red Army Front commanders, and a large proportion of Army commanders, were former officers of the Tsarist Army.¹ There were, however, a small number of very successful Red Army commanders with little actual military experience, who relied on their reputation as loyal Party members, political activists, and full-time Bolsheviks to earn their postings. At the head of this small and select group was Mikhail Frunze. Frunze's success during the Russian Civil War was built on the three pillars he established during his early political experiences. Earlier successes reinforced his belief in those three ideals, which he would use to achieve greatness in the Russian Civil War, and later carry on to his concept of the UMD.

Frunze's military career began 26 December 1918, when the RVSR selected him to be the commander of the 4th Army, Southern Group, Eastern Front, though he did not fully assume his duties until 31 January 1919.² In December 1919, the situation on the Eastern Front was rather bleak. The keys to the Red Army defenses on the Eastern Front had been the cities of Perm, Ufa, and Orenberg, but by the time Frunze arrived in theater, the White Army commander, Admiral Kolchak, had captured Perm, and was threatening to press the attack west towards Kazan. At this time, Kolchak's forces on the Eastern Front consisted of 91,000 infantrymen, 26,000 cavalrymen, 210 artillery guns, and 1330 machine guns. The Red Army forces consisted of 143,000 men, 511 artillery guns, and 2,455 machine guns.³ While this disposition seems favorable for the Red Army, another source paints a more bleak picture for the Red Army, placing the initial disposition of

forces at 300,000 men, 211 artillery pieces, and 1300 machine guns for Kolchak, and 100,000 men, 370 artillery pieces, and 1,182 machine guns for the Red Army.⁴

Four days after assuming command, Frunze attempted to gain the initiative by ordering the 4th Army to attack to secure the avenue of approach leading to the Saratov-Syzran area of the Volga. After this uninspired attack, Frunze discovered that his command had awful discipline and low morale, and needed to be fixed immediately. To turn his command around, Frunze gathered his subordinate commanders, listed several recent breaches of discipline, and rebuked them by saying that the discipline of the Red Army needed to be based on a “high sense of revolutionary duty” and its units must be “welded together by an iron discipline.”⁵

To reinforce this message, and to inspect his new command, Frunze set off on a series of command presence visits to the front. From 7 to 23 February 1919, Frunze visited his subordinate commanders. During the first week of March, Frunze traveled to the vicinity of Orenberg to the headquarters of another Southern Group unit, the 1st Army, commanded by Mikhail Tukhachevskii.⁶

After Frunze’s initial attack to secure the Saratov avenue of approach, he was given a new mission: to halt the western thrust of Admiral Kolchak by attacking Kolchak’s southern flank. Frunze did so in an astounding manner: when the main effort of Admiral Kolchak’s force, commanded by General M.V. Khanzhin, threatened to seize the Ufa-Samara avenue of approach, Frunze boldly attacked into Khanzhin’s southern flank and drove the White Army forces over 100 kilometers to the east, towards Orenberg and Ural’sk. While on the operational level, the Red Army could not exploit Frunze’s

successes, at the tactical level it was a huge success and a big morale booster for the 4th Army.

Due to his successful attack, Frunze was appointed Commander of Forces of Southern Group of the Eastern Front on 5 April 1919. His new mission was to secure Ural'sk and Orenberg and to maintain contact with Tashkent. Frunze described the pride that he felt at the time of his selection to this position:

In April 1919, at the moment of the greatest course of events of the offensive of Admiral Kolchak's Army, and the threats which were developing against Kazan, Simbirsk, and Samara, I was appointed the commander of the Southern Army Group of the Eastern Front with the 4th Army, 1st Army, Turkistan forces, and 5th Army.⁷

On 10 April 1919, Frunze gained control of the 1st and 5th Red Armies.⁸ While Leon Trotsky, the Commissar of War, proposed removing Frunze from command due to his inexperience, the Politburo backed Frunze, noting his recent success.⁹ On 28 April, 1919, Frunze gathered his forces near Buzuluk for a counteroffensive against the forces of Admiral Kolchak.¹⁰ In his words, Frunze remarked:

I organized [my force] and hit [counterattacked] the flank of the attacking Kolchak's army from the region of Buzuluk leading to the collapse of the offense of the operation of Kolchak and to the rapid withdrawal of his army along the entire Eastern Front.¹¹

On 20 April 1919, General S.S. Kamenev, the commander of the Eastern Front, submitted his proposed plan for the upcoming offensive, with the object of taking the city of Ufa, to the supreme command (Glavkom). In his plan, the Eastern Front Commander assigned Frunze's Southern Group as the main effort and gave them the main avenue of attack toward Ufa. Kamenev "proposed to concentrate the main effort near Buzuluk. From there, the main attack was to procede south of Bugul'ma toward Ufa."¹² The next day, Frunze submitted his plan. His plan was offensive and aggressive. He wanted to

conduct a penetration between the 3rd and the 6th White Corps, in the general direction of Buguruslan, in order to cut them off from their lines of communication and destroy them piecemeal. Kamenev had some concerns regarding Frunze's plan, and explained to Frunze that Bugul'ma must be attacked directly, not merely with a deep envelopment. Frunze recognized the importance of the key railroad junction in Bugul'ma, but he thought it more critical to mass his forces to attack and split the two White Army Corps. The fundamental difference between Frunze's plan and the plan of Kamenev was that Frunze's objective was enemy oriented and Kamenev's was oriented on key terrain. Frunze's plan was quite bold, using both speed and surprise to put the Whites off balance. With his usual fervor, Frunze was able to convince Kamenev to approve his plan.

From 23 to 25 April 1919, Frunze went to his front lines to conduct final inspections of the readiness of his subordinate units. Finding his command prepared, Frunze began his offensive on 28 April 1919, by attacking the flank of Kolchak's forces with great speed, severing the link between the 3rd and 6th Corps, and exploiting this penetration with a pursuit.¹³ By 2 May 1919, the Whites began to realize the danger of Frunze's attack, but their reaction was too slow and too indecisive to stop him from occupying Buguruslan by 4 May, where he continued his attack toward Belebei and Ufa.¹⁴ Again, initiative and offensive action enabled Frunze to accomplish his mission.

On 5 May 1919, due to a disagreement on the strategic direction of the Red Army, Trotsky replaced Kamenev, the Commander of the Eastern Front, with General A.A. Samoylo, a man he could more easily control. However, in his three short weeks of command, Samoylo and his staff precipitated a near disaster for the Eastern Front by continually issuing contradictory and often baffling orders. While Frunze was continuing

the attack and conducting inspections of his forces, Trotsky was concerned about threats to the Red Army's rear area, and thus Samoylo ordered Frunze to stop his attack, consolidate his gains, and protect the rear area of Orenberg and Ural'sk instead of continuing on toward Ufa. From 12 to 15 May 1919, Frunze went to the headquarters of the Eastern Front to convince Samoylo to press the attack. After convincing Samoylo, Frunze was allowed to attack Belebei on 17 May 1919, and, after achieving further success, he planned to continue the attack to Ufa. Samoylo and Frunze argued, and this time Samoylo forbade Frunze from pressing the attack.

On 19 May 1919, Frunze perceived a lack of White Army resistance to the west of the Belaya River, and saw the "necessity for the immediate conduct of operations with the aim of seizing the Ufa region," but was again denied by Samoylo.¹⁵ The next day, when Samoylo attempted to unhinge Frunze's plan by detaching Tukhachevskii's First Army from Frunze's command, Frunze offered to submit his resignation. Samoylo relented and allowed Frunze to execute his operation as planned, but at that point Lenin intervened, relieved Samoylo, and ordered an attack on Ufa. Frunze decided to rely on the boldness of his attack to protect his flank, and concentrated the mass of his forces for the advance. Frunze's main effort, consisting of the Turkistan Army along with the First Army commanded by Tukhachevskii, conducted an envelopment to encircle Ufa from the south.

Frunze began his attack on 25 May 1919. His plan was to deny the White Army time to prepare defensive positions and also prevent them from repositioning their forces. Frunze's operation was successful because he combined elements of mass, economy of force, surprise, and maneuver in a bold offensive. Due to his political successes in 1905

and 1917, coupled with his earlier military successes in this campaign, Frunze became more convinced that it was through offensive action that one can impose one's will on the enemy and be victorious. His original plan was flexible, with enough uncommitted forces in reserve to be able to reinforce success wherever it may occur. From the outset, Frunze's forces quickly overwhelmed the White forward positions. By 4 June, Tukhachevskii's Army was crossing the Belaya north of Ufa. However, from 5-9 June 1919, the main attack at the southern crossing of the Belaya River was repeatedly stopped by the stubborn defense of White Army forces, even after Frunze assumed personal command of the Turkistan Army during the crossing.

Because Tukhachevskii was successful, and the main attack was not, Frunze flexibly redesignated Tukhachevskii as the main effort and planned to press the attack in the north. Yet again, Kamenev thought that Frunze's plan was too risky and too difficult to execute, but Frunze convinced him for the second time that the White reserves were in the south, so the Red Army should attack in the north, where they had already achieved a penetration. Though the Whites attempted to shift their reserves to meet this new threat in the north, the Red Army repulsed those attacks and began to encircle Ufa. After the White reserves were committed to the north, Frunze was able to penetrate to the south, eventually surrounding Ufa and splitting Kolchak's forces into two parts. Frunze was decorated for his bold leadership in the Ufa campaign. Frunze's own words made this operation seem quite simple, as he described the operation in the following way:

I carried out the Ufa operation by crossing the Belaya River on 7-8 June, breaking the forces of the enemy defending the approaches to Ufa, and occupied the last portions of the city on 9 June 1919. For that operation, they awarded me the Order of the Red Banner.¹⁶

After Ufa, instead of continuing to pressure the White forces, the Red Army decided to consolidate by recapturing Perm and Ural'sk. Before finishing Kolchak, Trotsky wanted to send Frunze to counter Denikin in Central Asia, but Lenin refused and had Frunze pursue Kolchak. At this critical point in the campaign, Trotsky and I. I. Vatsetis wanted to redirect Frunze's forces from Ufa to battle perceived threats in the south, but Frunze jumped the chain of command all the way to the top and appealed directly to Lenin for permission to continue the attack. Frunze may have felt compelled to advise the Central Committee on what he perceived to be the correct way of continuing this campaign, as he was completely committed to continuing the offense and pursuing the fleeing enemy, rather than dividing the forces and allowing the enemy to escape. In any case, Frunze's belief in the offense was reflected in his later advocacy of UMD, despite opposition from the Commissar of War. Lenin endorsed Frunze by replying that:

If we do not conquer the Urals before winter, I think the destruction of the revolution is inevitable; exert every effort; look everywhere for reinforcements; mobilize the population in the front territory; take care of political work; inform me every week by cipher telegram of the results; you are responsible for seeing to it that the units do not begin to disintegrate and that morale does not collapse.¹⁷

According to Jacobs, Frunze gained his most striking single victory at Ufa through a brilliant maneuver. He altered the relative combat power of the Red Army and Kolchak's Army by positioning elements of his command at points of advantage over Kolchak.¹⁸ Fortunately for the Red Army in the Ufa campaign, Kamenev's plan relied on speed and deep movements past vulnerable White flanks in order to retain the initiative and keep the enemy off balance. Frunze's original plan was flexible enough to allow exploitation of any opportunities that may occur. Frunze opened the attack with sufficient forces to take advantage of the weak defensive positions of the White Forces and to move

quickly to the Belaya River. When the main effort river crossing to the south ran into stubborn resistance, Frunze was able to shift his forces to the north. Through offensive action and tenacious resolve, Frunze was again able to accomplish his mission. The Ufa campaign solidified the three pillars of Frunze's framework for success; a framework he would take with him into Central Asia, the Crimea, and the UMD debate.

After Ufa, Kolchak split his army into two groups: one fled to Turkistan and the other went to Siberia. Lenin and Trotsky split the Eastern Front into two Fronts, the Eastern and the Turkistan, and sent Frunze south as the Commander of the Turkistan Front to pursue Kolchak's forces under General P.A. Belov.¹⁹

From 6-11 August 1919, Frunze went to the field headquarters of the Red Army for briefings, followed by the appointment as the Commander of all Forces of the Turkistan Front on 18 August 1919. In his own words:

In August of 1919, with the division of the eastern front into two directions, Siberian and Turkistan, I was appointed as the commander of the Army of the Turkistan Front with the 11th, 4th and 1st Armies as well as the Turkistan forces. During the course of September, I conducted operations to encircle and destroy the southern army of Kolchak, under the command of General Belov. The result of this operation was the restoration of communications with Turkistan and secured passage of the Orenberg Cossacks on the side of Soviet power.²⁰

In Turkistan, Frunze faced the forces of General Belov. Frunze's plan was to fix Belov in Orsk-Aktiubinsk and then surround and finish him. His plan was very aggressive, offensive, and decisive, stressing flank and rear attacks. From 13-20 August 1919, Frunze attacked, penetrated, and split Belov's defenses. Belov tried to withdraw to ports on the Aral Sea, but low morale in his command caused thousands of his troops to surrender. From his first days as the Commander of the 4th Army, Frunze knew that low

morale would destroy an army, a fact that would later influence his approach on UMD.

On 8 September 1919, Belov surrendered to Frunze.

On 21 September 1919, after the defeat of General Belov, the Central Committee appointed Frunze head of the Southern Army Group, Eastern Front. He may have gotten this command at Lenin's own insistence. On 30 December 1919, Frunze attacked Gur'ev and on 5 January 1920, the Ural Front was liquidated. Frunze took 150,000 prisoners of war from 31 January 1919 to 5 January 1920.

After defeating the forces of Admiral Kolchak and his subordinates in January 1920, the Central Committee appointed Frunze as Commander of the Eastern Front. Trotsky spoke highly of Frunze's achievements in the 7th Congress and labeled him a "commander of distinction and merit."²¹ Frunze then went on to his next duty: clearing Turkistan (present day Central Asia) of anti-Bolshevik forces. These forces were lumped together under the title of Basmachi, or bandits.

The formal beginning of the Basmachi movement was associated with the Tsarist Imperial Decree of 25 June 1916, which rescinded the previous exemption of Muslims from military service. The Basmachi movement was a reaction, not only to conscription, but to the Russian conquest of the region, and it became an action for national liberation for many Central Asians. The majority and the most influential of the Basmachi groups founded after 1918 were composed of village leaders and were among the most highly educated of the population. The Khivan Khanate and the Bukharan Emirate were both Basmachi strongholds and centers of counterrevolution.²² In Turkistan, these groups were regarded by the Bolsheviks as dangerous nationalistic partisans.²³

The Turkistan Front had a troop strength of 106,000 regulars, but despite this massive military force, the Bolsheviks were initially unable to break the resolve of the Basmachi movement. Frunze took over the Turkistan Red Army from Grigorii Zinoviev, along with the 4th Red Army on 26 December 1919.²⁴ On 22 February 1920, he arrived in Tashkent and assumed command with his usual offensive approach. He began to conduct operations against dissidents in Khiva, Bukhara, and Semirech. He initially opposed the Basmachis, local Emirs, and indigenous peasants overtly, but soon discovered that, to gain the initiative, skillful political work among the opposition, as well as increased propaganda efforts, made it possible to defeat the forces of local Emirs and gain control of the population centers.²⁵ Frunze then subdued the garrison in Vernyi, the city where he had graduated from the Gymnasium in 1904.

By the end of February 1920, Frunze began to implement a policy designed to win the native population through concessions.²⁶ These concessions were centered on the “Pan-Turanist” movement, which was ostensibly created to unite the Turkmen tribes. Frunze knew that concessions alone to the Muslims in Central Asia would only encourage the anti-Soviet Basmachi movement, so he began to undermine the leadership of the movement itself. Frunze knew that it would be very difficult to defend the Bolshevik Revolution if the indigenous people were hostile to it, so he began a policy of empowering local peasants and placing them into positions of power.²⁷ This basic tactic, employed by Frunze in Central Asia against the Basmachis, consisted primarily of conducting large scale political work among the population, first of all among the workers.²⁸ This became the key Soviet policy in Central Asia, one of co-optation, rather than stirring up Central Asians against the Bolsheviks.²⁹ The Bolsheviks eventually

replaced the Basmachi and Central Asian intelligentsia with peasants in the local governing bodies, to erode their support and to make it easier for Moscow to control the region. The plan was to divide and conquer the existing ethnic groups, tribes, and clans.

As Commander of the Turkistan Front, Frunze divided his time evenly between his subordinate units, the 1st Army, the 4th Army, the 11th Army, and the 2nd Turkistan Rifle Division, ensuring that his forces concentrated on agitation of the local population rather than decisive battle. This agitation work culminated in August 1920, with a local revolution in Bukhara that overthrew the forces of the Emir, along with the bulk of the Basmachi power, ending large-scale organized resistance to the Red Army in Central Asia. In addition to his military duties as the Commander of the Turkistan Front, Frunze's political responsibilities included establishing and participating in several Party organizations, such as the all-Russian central Executive Committee for Turkistan Affairs and the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party for Turkistan Affairs.

Frunze's actions in Central Asia during the Russian Civil War clearly helped to break the Basmachi movement and added Turkistan to the Soviet Empire.³⁰ On 21 September 1920, Frunze handed over command of forces of the Turkistan Front, and was reassigned as the commander of the Armies of the Southern Front. Frunze's new position brought him to the Crimea, and Lenin urged Frunze to defeat the White Army General Paul Wrangel as quickly as possible.³¹ In late September 1920, Frunze ordered an offensive against General Wrangel on the Southern Front and entered the Crimea. Though Wrangel's army was outnumbered, it was well supplied with artillery, technical equipment, telephones, and telegraphs that they had taken from the Red Army or received from the British.

Frunze chose to fight Wrangel in terrain suitable for cavalry action and wide maneuver. Frunze had over four times the force of Wrangel: over 100,000 men to Wrangel's 23,000. Frunze attempted to encircle Wrangel, but Wrangel was too active. They fought at Chongar and Perekop, an isthmus in Crimea averaging eight kilometers in width, where Frunze tried to make Wrangel defend on poor terrain, but Wrangel retreated to defensible terrain and constructed defensive works around a huge 10m deep by 20m wide anti-cavalry ditch known as the Turkish Rampart, that spanned the isthmus. On 5 November 1920, Frunze attacked Perekop, sending forces through a lightly defended portion of Wrangel's line, but since Wrangel had naval dominance, which allowed gunfire support. The attack quickly failed. Frunze changed tactics and decided to penetrate the Turkish Rampart. Unfortunately, due to heavy fog, Frunze had no artillery support. Wave after wave failed, and then Frunze ordered a general assault on the trench, which finally met with success. At a desperate point in the course of the battle, when Red troops showed signs of breaking, Frunze was reported to have taken a rifle in hand and to have personally led the regiment from Ivanovo in the final charges against the White defenses.³² While this may seem farfetched for a Front Commander to lead a regimental charge, Frunze repeatedly did the same thing; first in 1905, then later in 1917, and again in the Kronstadt Revolt. By character, Frunze was an offensively minded Red Commander who was committed to mission accomplishment in his service to the Party by seizing the initiative. This account of Frunze's act is not surprising; rather it is expected.

Frunze's successful attack quickly gained momentum and improved morale. Wrangel fell back to secondary positions and Frunze pursued him. The other half of

Frunze's command successfully attacked Wrangel's forces in Chongar. Despite White Army forces receiving foreign assistance, and the Red Army suffering from massive desertions, Frunze captured the Crimea in November 1920 and forced General Wrangel and his troops from Russia. The major difficulties Frunze faced with Wrangel included logistics as well as command and control.³³ At Perekop, Frunze used repeated waves of troops to achieve a penetration, and then continued to follow the initial success with exploitation and pursuit. By 12 November 1920, Wrangel decided to pull his forces out of Crimea and to evacuate Russia. On 16 November 1920, the battle of Perekop was won, Wrangel left Russia, the Southern Front was liquidated, and the Russian Civil War was all but over.

In November 1920, Frunze was appointed as the High Representative of the REVVOENSOV of the republic of Ukraine, and as Commander of all Armed Forces in Ukraine. For the November all-Ukrainian conference, Frunze was chosen as a member of the committee of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks of Ukraine. The Congress Council of Ukraine selected Frunze to be a member of the all-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee. He was a member of the All-Russian Central Executive Congress of the Russian Communist Party, and was also chosen to be a member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. This last act was to be made official at the 10th Party Congress in four months time.

On 25 November 1920, Mikhail Frunze was declared to be a people's hero. His citation reads:

By order of the RVSR, for uncommon energy and persistence in carrying out the plans leading to the crushing defeat of Wrangel's White Guard units in Northern parts of Tavrichesk Province and in personal leadership of units in storming the

strong positions at Perekop and Yushoon, the award of honor of revolutionary arms.

After Wrangel was defeated, Frunze still had to quash several internal rebellions in Ukraine in order to reestablish control and consolidate Bolshevik power, most notably a rebellion led by Nestor Makhno.³⁴ On 26 November 1920, Frunze declared Nestor Makhno to be an enemy of the Soviet Republic, and fought hit and run operations against him and his partisans until Makhno fled to Romania in 1921. Nestor Makhno was the leader of a peasant and worker army and insurrection in Ukraine. During the Russian Civil War, he proved himself to be a brilliant military commander, who saved the Red Army from military defeat at the hands of White forces. When the White threat had been removed, and Makhno began to assert himself as the liberator of Ukraine, Frunze and the Bolsheviks crushed him.³⁵

The lessons that Frunze learned in his political experiences served him well in his role as military commander in the Russian Civil War. Frunze accomplished every mission through the use of offensive operations, wresting the initiative time and again from White Commanders. When his initial plans were unsuccessful, Frunze's belief in offensive action required him to press the attack. The technological advantage that the White forces under Wrangel had over the Red Army did not escape Frunze – he would later insist on the technical modernization of the Red Army as one of his first and most essential reforms. Frunze would also incorporate morale of the worker-soldier as a key factor in Red Army warfare, by insisting that Marxist thought be the basis of UMD. These three pillars, along with the many personal lessons that Frunze had learned throughout his two years of campaigning, would continue to be instrumental in Frunze's success, and would help him to shape his concept of the UMD.

¹Andrei A. Kokoshin, *Soviet Strategic Thought, 1917-1991* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1998), 16.

²Mikhail V. Frunze, *Pasluzhnoi Spisok na Frunze-Mikhailova Mikhail Vasilyevicha* (The Service Record of Mikhail V. Frunze) in *Izbrannye Proizvedeniia*, (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1977).

³Curtis S. King, “Rifles and Revolutionaries : Red Military Leadership in the Russian Civil War” (Master’s thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1990), 26.

⁴Makhmut A.Gareev. *M. V. Frunze: Military Theorist* (London: Pergamon-Brassey’s International Defense Publishers, 1988), 31.

⁵Walter Darnell Jacobs, *Frunze: The Soviet Clausewitz, 1885-1925* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969), 197.

⁶Frunze, Service Record.

⁷Mikhail V. Frunze, *Avtobiografiya M.V. Frunze* (Autobiography of Mikhail V. Frunze), in *Izbrannye Proizvedeniia* (Moscow: Voenizdat), 1977

⁸John Erickson, *The Soviet High Command: A Military-Political History, 1918-1941* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944), 61.

⁹Jacobs, 21. Jacobs explains that after Frunze’s appointment as the Commander of the 4th Army, he was again the subject of Trotsky’s disapproval. It is alleged (in Leonid Mikhailovich Spirin, *Razgrom armii Kolchaka*, Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe isdatel’stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1957, page 133) that Trotsky attempted to have Frunze removed from this command because of his lack of military experience.

¹⁰Erickson, 63.

¹¹Frunze, Autobiography.

¹²King, 27.

¹³*Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁴Jacobs, 200.

¹⁵Frunze, Autobiography

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷King, 44.

¹⁸Jacobs, 153.

¹⁹Ibid., 206.

²⁰Autobiography

²¹Erickson, 74.

²²Edward Allworth, ed., *Central Asia – 130 Years of Russian Dominance* (London: Duke UP, 1999), 241.

²³http://www.ku.edu/carrie/texts/carrie_books/paksoy-6/cae12.html; Internet, accessed on 9 March 2004.

²⁴Erickson, 59.

²⁵Gareev, 38.

²⁶Erickson, 75.

²⁷Allworth, 234.

²⁸Jacobs, 208.

²⁹Allworth, 242.

³⁰Jacobs, 3.

³¹Erickson, 105. There is a reference here to Kuz'min, page 310, where Kuz'min verifies that it was Lenin who personally gave Frunze this increased responsibility. Lenin told Frunze that the revolution could not survive another winter campaign.

³²Jacobs, 202.

³³Jacob W. Kipp, *Mass, Mobility, and the Red Army's Road to Operational Art, 1918-1936* (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Soviet Army Studies Office, 1990), 21.

³⁴The Columbia Encyclopedia, 6th ed., 2001, *Petlyura, Simon*, available from <http://www.bartleby.com/65/e-/E-Petlyura.html>; Internet; accessed on 22 October 2003. Simon Petlyura was a Ukrainian national politician who became the leader of the independent Ukrainian republic that emerged after the collapse of the Russian Empire. In 1920, Petlyura allied himself with Poland under Josef Pilsudski, but lost control of Ukraine in the 1921 peace of Riga between Poland and the USSR. He was exiled to Paris and was later assassinated.

³⁵Anarchy Archives, *Makhno's Biographical Information* at http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/bright/makhno/makhnobio.html accessed on 22 October 2003.

CHAPTER 4

MERGING POLITICAL AND MILITARY EXPERIENCE: FRUNZE ENTERS THE UMD DEBATE

In the year after the Russian Civil War, Frunze was alarmed, disappointed, and frustrated by the apparent trend towards conservatism and the defensive form of warfare within the Red Army. He had helped to organize the RKKA, and then in early 1921, he turned his attention to correcting the grave defects within the RKKA, primarily defects regarding military theory and doctrine. Rather than writing an article to inform the Party about his findings and conclusions, Frunze decided to offer a presentation of his findings at the 10th Party Congress in March 1921, a presentation developed jointly with Sergei Gusev, who was the head of the Red Army's political administration.¹ Frunze's frustrations brought a long-standing debate to a head, a debate that centered on the correct way to train, discipline, and transform the Red Army.

Many influential political leaders and officers joined this debate, such as Mikhail Tukhachevskii and Leon Trotsky. When the debate narrowed to two camps, Trotsky's and Frunze's, Tukhachevskii joined Frunze's side. Even within the two main groups, there was a broad spectrum of beliefs regarding the UMD. Initially, Tukhachevskii was on the far left of the scale. He advocated creating an international general staff that would spread revolution through military assistance to all nations, an idea that Frunze later incorporated into his own reforms. Trotsky was on the right of the scale, and he did not think that there was a need for a UMD, because warfare was very fluid and did not lend itself to a rigid dogma. Frunze was a centrist, and he wanted to create a UMD that

reflected the proletariat way of war, one that corresponded to Marxist thought. To Frunze, the purpose of a UMD was to link military actions to Party goals.

At this time, the First World War and the Russian Civil War directly influenced the assessment of potential threats and of the nature of a future war. In the early 1920s, the Russian Civil War was the one experience on which the “Red Commanders,” those Bolsheviks whose military training had occurred on the battlefields of the Russian Civil War, could draw. The “military specialists,” former Tsarist officers who were brought into the Red Army during the Russian Civil War precisely because of their knowledge of standard military theory and practice, had every reason to deny any unique importance to the Russian Civil War. Rather, they wanted to synthesize the lessons learned in the last war with the lessons from all of recorded warfare. In an attempt to mold the UMD debate, Trotsky agreed with the “military specialists,” such as Neznamov and Svechin, while Frunze was the head of the “Red Commanders.” Frunze envisioned a future class war, which minimized the more tactical and technical concerns of military art, as opposed to Trotsky who wanted to take the tactical realities and lessons learned from the First World War and the Russian Civil War and codify them into military doctrine.

At the time of this debate, and in reality since June 1917, Leon Trotsky was considered Lenin’s right hand man. He was first arrested in 1897 and spent four years in prison. When he was released in 1901, Trotsky joined the Social Democrat Party. He remained a Menshevik, supporting Julian Martov in the 1903 Party split, and became a very influential journalist and editor of Socialist publications, to include founding the Socialist newspaper, *Pravda*. Trotsky returned to Russia in 1905, where he created, and was elected Chairman of, the first Soviet in St. Petersburg. He was the most charismatic

speaker in the 1905 Revolution and was instrumental in the creation of the first Duma. During the aftermath of the 1905 Revolution, Trotsky spent three years in internal exile, before escaping to Vienna in 1908. He was a leading Menshevik up until mid-1917, when Lenin convinced him to join the Bolshevik cause. Because of his long-standing relationship with the Mensheviks, Trotsky was not entirely trusted among many of the old Bolsheviks. Since December 1917, Leon Trotsky had been serving the Bolshevik Party as the Commissar of War and was the man responsible for the creation of the Red Army.

The desirability of a Unified Military Doctrine was an old theme in Russian military thought and had been an issue that the Imperial Staff hotly debated from the end of the Russo-Japanese war until the breakout of the First World War. The debate continued soon after the First World War was over. In July 1919, A.I. Tarasov-Rodionov, a Brigade Commander during the Russian Civil War, published an article entitled *Building the Red Army*, which held that the positional mode of warfare was inconsistent with the proletarian method of war, as practiced during the Russian Civil War, which emphasized mobility, initiative, and offensive operations.² This “proletarian method of war” would become one of Frunze’s central themes in his justification for a Unified Military Doctrine. But Tarasov-Rodionov was not the first to suggest that the proletariat had its own unique method of warfare. This phrase, along with many others that Frunze used as ammunition for the defense of his position, came from the Socialist teachings of Marx and Engels. In Frunze’s mind, the correct military path was to implement a Unified Military Doctrine focused on the principles of Marx and Engels.

At the beginning of the UMD debate, Frunze's position was purely theoretical. He argued that there should be a UMD, and that it should consist of Marxist thought. By the time of the presentation of his theses at the 10th Party Congress, Frunze had not sufficiently developed his position to recommend a clear course of action. He did, however, follow the paradigm that he had established for himself in his political and military experiences to this point; namely, to gain the initiative, to wage offensive war, and to show loyalty to the Bolshevik Party. It was from this perspective that Frunze approached the UMD debate.

It is important to present a nuance of the translation of the "U" in UMD. The word "yedinnaya" can conceivably mean three distinct things in the Russian language. Though it is derived from the word "odin," which means "one," it can also mean "unified" or "universal." Taken one way, the translation for UMD is "one military doctrine," which is the position espoused by Trotsky. Trotsky believed that a military doctrine was based upon the experiences of past wars, and that the participants of the wars mattered little. What mattered was that the lessons learned in that conflict were recorded and synthesized with the body of military knowledge in order to produce new tactics with which to fight. Trotsky thought that, because doctrine does not change all that much, having a specific military doctrine based on proletariat principles is ridiculous. Doctrine, in his mind, was based on using past events to predict future outcomes, and in the case of military doctrine, was virtually unchanging and timeless.

Another way of interpreting UMD is "unified military doctrine." As figure 1 shows, unified military doctrine actually means taking various doctrines and merging

them, or unifying them, into one doctrine that will work for all organizations. Frunze believed that all Bolshevik efforts needed to unify behind this particular doctrine.

The final translation is “universal military doctrine,” which is what Frunze proposed. Frunze’s position early in the UMD debate was that Marxism should be the single philosophy that forms the foundation to all doctrine.³ From the base of Marx, other organizations build on that foundation with rules and policies that pertain to their specific area of expertise, never straying from the universal truth of Marx. In his mind, Marxism has created a truly unique way to wage war, as evidenced in his belief that the proletariat way of war would demand its unique military doctrine. While the purpose of this essay is not to challenge the translated name of UMD, it is important at this point to understand the nuances of this concept, to better understand the Frunze’s position.

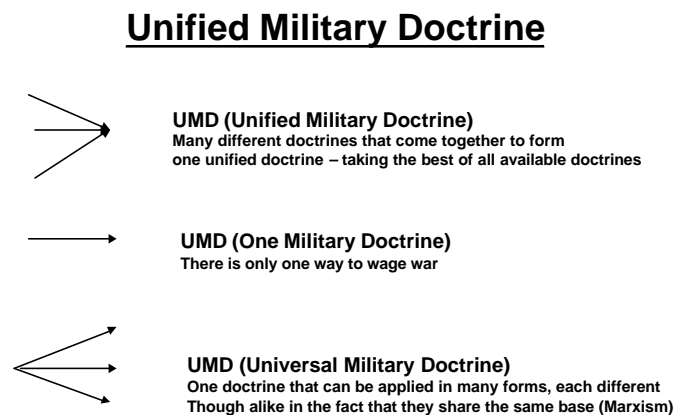


Figure 1. Unified Military Doctrine

The foundation of Frunze’s political and military framework was the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Their writings are replete with references to the military.

Even in his most abstract works, Engels made ample use of military terms and experiences, because he regarded himself as a soldier and a military theorist by trade.⁴ Few secular philosophies are as holistic as Marxism, which attempts to explain and predicts all of human history in terms of enduring class struggle, and Engels military writings fit this pattern.

The declared policy of Marx and Engels was one of enmity toward the “military machine,” the military caste, and the military State.⁵ Marx and Engels did not speak about building an army; rather they were most concerned with the seizure of power. Later in the UMD debate, when Frunze used the writings of Marx and Engels to help give form to the Red Army, Trotsky took issue. “The nation in arms” had become the declared military ideal of Engels. He regarded as futile the campaign to destroy militarism in nineteenth century European society, so he instead advocated eradicating its feudal traditions and awakening its democratic tendencies by means of universal compulsory military service. In his later writings, Engels expressed increasing revulsion at the prospect of a future world war, one that threatened to destroy all the advances made not only by the working class and by Socialist movements, but also by western civilization itself. However, it was likely that the earlier writings of Engels, writings that stated that revolution had to come about through war and violence, had inspired Frunze more than the latter ones.

To make the proletarian revolution a reality, Marx and Engels discussed tactical problems and military considerations at length in their writings.⁶ Engels recognized that every conflict was dependent on the weapons available at the time of the fight, and that every society and every historical period would demand different methods and strategies.

This observation influenced Frunze later in the UMD debate, as he attempted to grapple with the technological backwardness of the Red Army. But there were three major themes that Engels continued to address throughout his writings that influenced Frunze the most. These themes are the nature of the proletarian way of war, the type of army that is appropriate for a Socialist State, and the total integration and subordination of all aspects of power to the State. These themes surely rang true with Frunze because they reinforced his experiences in the Russian Civil War, as well as his earlier political experiences in Ivanovo-Voznesensk and in the 1905 Revolution.

The first theme was that the proletariat would have its own distinctive way of war. Engels said that the proletariat would produce its own independent proletariat strategy and tactics. Engels also said “The emancipation of the proletariat...will have its special expression in military affairs and will create its special new military method.”⁷ The Bolsheviks tried to take seriously Engels’ promise that “freeing the proletariat will create its special and entirely new military method.” To Frunze, the proletariat way of war was focused on the offense. Karl Marx said, “The offense is the best form of defense.”⁸ That the Red Army should focus on the offense was one of Frunze’s main issues, as was the fact that the Red Army was comprised of worker-soldiers, who were working for their own goals, not those of international Capitalism. This was to be different from other nations, because only in Bolshevik Russia would the workers control both the means of production and the apparatus of the State. While other States may have emphasized offensive operations, Engels and Frunze viewed the Bolshevik need for offensive doctrine as different from other nations whose soldiers were being exploited and would not reap the benefits of victory. Therein lays the distinction between offensive operations

within the Bolshevik State and a bourgeois nation: to be legitimate, the reasons behind the actions must benefit the workers. Aside from this emphasis on the offensive, Engels remained vague on any new strategy or tactics for the proletariat.

The second theme was the composition of the Red Army itself. Should a Socialist State strive to create a militia or a standing army? Lenin, Engels, and Marx all declared the militia (the concept of a citizen's volunteer army, the armed working class) to be the appropriate form in the Socialist era. This force would be voluntary, as would all employment in the Socialist State, each worker willingly contributing according to his ability. Engels stated that in a Communist society, no one would think of a regular army, because there would be no need. Although Engels regarded the militia system as a final goal, he hastened to caution Marx that "only a Communist society could get really near the full militia and even that approach would only be asymptotic," meaning that even a Communist society could never truly reach a full militia concept because not all workers would be able to perform military duties, some may not be inclined to perform them, and in a true utopian, Communist State, there would be no need for any type of military force. The creation of a standing army in January of 1918 was a distasteful compromise for the young Soviet State, but it should not have been, since Engels believed that only a Communist State free from internal and external peril could have a militia system. As a writer of theory, Engels could afford to conjecture about different military systems within the Socialist spectrum and use terms loosely, such as militia, volunteer, conscript, standing, professional, etc., but as an implementer of Engels' theory, Frunze had to first define Engels' terms and then decide which of Engels' positions was most relevant to the situation within the Soviet State. Herein lies most of the confusion regarding Frunze's

position: even Frunze did not clearly know what his position was concerning a militia until years into the debate.

Once Frunze's views solidified, he was against the militia system, because the young Soviet State had not yet met the preconditions for transition to a militia. The USSR was primarily an agrarian State with a population of 90 percent peasant. A Socialist State, by definition, would be a State in which the will of the working class holds sway; thus in Frunze's mind, until the population became predominantly working class, there could be no militia. In addition, Marx and Engels did not predict that Russia would be the first society to undergo this type of change; rather they thought that Germany was ripe for revolution. In their minds, Russia was far too backwards and too agrarian to become a successful worker's State. Frunze determined that the Red Army existed to protect the dictatorship of the proletariat, meaning that the Red Army must be available to continue to push international revolution forward. It would only have the ability to do that if it was a professional, well-trained force – a cadre-led conscript force, rather than an all-volunteer force. On this point, later in the debate, Frunze and Engels diverged, though it was a divergence due to the particular circumstances within the Soviet State.

The third theme from the writings of Marx and Engels was the total integration of the means of power in the Socialist State. The basic Marxist position that all means of power in the Socialist State would be subordinate to the goals of the Party was a basic tenet of Frunze's UMD. Marx and Engels agreed with the greatest theorist of modern total war, Carl von Clausewitz. The supposed discovery of national-Socialist ideologues such as Adolf Hitler, that modern war is of a fourfold nature, diplomatic, economic, psychological, and only as a last resort military, was common knowledge to Marx and

Engels.⁹ Marxists refused to draw a line between military and political affairs. Marx and Engels realized how closely foreign policy, war, and internal affairs were connected. Narrow definitions of military strategy that neatly separated war and peace, or the army and society, were foreign to the Bolsheviks. Lenin and his cohorts were impressed with Clausewitz' analysis of the interaction between politics and war. There was no doubt in their minds that war, revolution, politics, and society were inseparable.¹⁰ Frunze agreed wholeheartedly with Clausewitz regarding the necessity to subordinate the military to the will of the political.¹¹ However, for the most part, Frunze did not base his beliefs on those works considered vital to bourgeois military thought, such as Clausewitz, Jomini, or von Moltke, implying that they were obsolete and bore little relevance to Communist society and the proletarian army.¹² Instead he based his beliefs on Engels' similar views, and thus regarding Engels' third theme that subordinated the military to the political, Frunze Stated "I agree with Engels completely."¹³

In theory, Frunze agreed with Engels on most of his themes, however, due to Frunze's military experiences in the Russian Civil War, and his better understanding of the situation of the workforce in Russia, Frunze took issue with Engels on the issue of a standing army. The skill of Frunze was in the application of Engels' three themes to the specific situation in the young Soviet State.

After the Russian Civil War, the State of the Soviet economy and the Red Army's technical backwardness posed significant obstacles. One of the greatest obstacles was the lack of unity within the Bolshevik Party. The greatest manifestation of this disunity was the Kronstadt Rebellion of March 1921. The sailors at the Kronstadt naval base had long been a source of radical dissent. Mutinies had taken place during the 1905 Revolution,

and Kronstadt sailors were active in the overthrow of Nicholas II in the February Revolution. A large number of the sailors were Bolsheviks, and during the October Revolution, they took control of the cruiser *Aurora*, sailed it up the River Neva, and opened fire on the Winter Palace. By 1921, the Kronstadt sailors had become disillusioned with the Bolshevik government, and called for a return of political freedoms. Lenin denounced the Kronstadt Uprising as a plot instigated by the White Army and their European supporters. On 6 March 1921, Trotsky announced that he was going to order the Red Army to attack the Kronstadt sailors. During this time, while still attending the 10th Party Congress, Mikhail Frunze fought at the Kronstadt Rebellion with a rifle in hand. However, it was not until 17 March 1921 that government forces were able to take control of Kronstadt. Over 500 sailors at Kronstadt were executed for their part in the rebellion.¹⁴

At the beginning of the 10th Party Congress, Lenin decided that the time had come to end the bickering within the Bolshevik Party, and he issued strictures against opposition groups and factions. Unity became the watchword of the session, since after putting down the Kronstadt Rebellion, it became more dangerous to challenge Lenin. After the Kronstadt Rebellion was put down and after Lenin gave his directive for Party unity, Gusev and Frunze presented a series of twenty two theses. These theses called for the development of a unified military doctrine to bring unity to the Red Army.¹⁵ Gusev wrote the first sixteen theses, while Frunze composed the final six. As the following pages will show, the three pillars of Frunze's framework for success are solidly supporting the structure Frunze called UMD.

Frunze's first thesis stressed the desirability for a common political ideology within the Red Army, as well as "a unity of views about the character of military problems facing the republic, the means of solving them, and methods for the combat preparation training of troops."¹⁶ He asserted that the only way to put forth the maximum might of the Red Army would be to transform the army into a unified organization, welded together by a community of political ideology. According to Frunze, the Red Army was in sync politically with an active policy of Party goals and subordination of the army to the Party, but out of sync militarily with no unity of views. That was his base reason for the creation of a UMD. This thesis supports Frunze's belief in loyalty to the Bolshevik Party above all, and his desire to turn Bolshevik policy into Red Army plans. This thesis also supported Engels' theme that the military should be subordinated to the political through Marxist ideology.

In his second thesis, Frunze called for a Unified Military Doctrine representing the "scientific proletarian theory of war" to be institutionalized in the regulations, manuals, and directives of the Soviet military."¹⁷ According to Frunze, the basic mission of the Red Army was the protection of the dictatorship of the proletariat from the encroachments of internal and international counterrevolution. Frunze believed that the military apparatus, guided by general State policy, would ensure the unity of the armed forces, instilling a common outlook on the nature of military missions (protecting the dictatorship of the proletariat) and how to conduct them.¹⁸ This thesis supported Engels' theme that there was a distinct proletarian way of war; but at this time, neither Frunze nor Engels had discovered what that distinct way of war really meant.

In his third thesis, Frunze said that the development of this proletarian doctrine “may not be entrusted to the narrow specialists of military affairs” but would rely only partially on the military expertise of those specialists and primarily on the proletarian consciousness of political workers.¹⁹ This thesis also went back to Engels’ theme that the proletarian has a unique way of war. Frunze further stated that when Red Commanders had acquired sufficient experience, then the Red Army would not need the military specialists any longer. The length of time that this transition might take was unclear to Frunze; he simply stated it as a desired end state.

Frunze made clear with his fourth thesis that this unity of views should be expressed in regulations, manuals, and directives, organized on the general basis of Marxist teachings. This was the first attempt to build a military theoretical system based on Marxism, which implied that military officers must know Marxist thought in order to transform the Red Army. In order to fully understand Marx and Engels, Frunze called to have the State press publish all of Marx’ works in Russian, as well as all foreign articles that provided analysis of Marx with regard to the military. The goal was to build a program that would provide a foundation of Marxist thought to every worker-soldier in the Red Army, particularly Socialist thought on the relations between the military and politics.

In his fifth thesis, Frunze called for the general staff to transform into the military-theoretical staff of the proletarian State. His idea was to create a think tank that would provide a solid base of ideological theory and be able to apply it to solving military problems in a Marxist way. This thesis was partially an overture to Tukhachevskii, who wanted the Red Army Staff to be the staff of the international proletariat. Frunze did not

think that the Red Army Staff was currently ready to take on the role that Tukhachevskii wanted it to play in the global arena, because of the backwardness within the Red Army regarding technology; but he envisioned an alliance between the Red Army and the proletariat in other countries in the future. Frunze argued that, on the whole, the experience of the Civil War was largely one-sided, because in the course of both the Russian Civil War and the Soviet-Polish War, Russia had to face an enemy with equal or somewhat superior strength to the Red Army in terms of technology.²⁰ Catching up with the Capitalist world in terms of technology would, from this moment forward, be an obsession of the Soviet State. This thesis supported Frunze's pillar of offensive as well as regaining the initiative. He was aware that the Capitalists had a tremendous advantage in technology, and knew that the Red Army had to catch up in order to survive.

In his final thesis, Frunze argued that the nature of the new State, the Red Army, and its combat experience in the Civil War had forged the preconditions for the formulation of a UMD, which was determined by the character of the country's armed forces, the methods of combat training for troops and command personnel, and the nature of the State.²¹ Frunze argued for mass warfare, the total mobilization of the State. He predicted that every single member of the population would have to be inducted into the war effort. The theory of mass warfare had been considered by Engels, who suggested that only the Socialist State dared use mass warfare. The bourgeois would be too fearful of the working class to rely on it for a mass army. While this thesis seems to be a summary of Frunze's position regarding UMD, he actually introduced a new concept of mass warfare. This was Frunze's way of partially addressing Engels' theme of a militia versus a standing army. Frunze described the conditions of future warfare, which revolve

around the use of all elements of power in order to achieve victory. This implied a standing conscript force to be constantly ready to enter into this type of warfare.

After the theses had been presented, Trotsky rose to challenge them. While Frunze was earnest, relentless, and serious in his presentation, Trotsky was sarcastic, spiteful, and used clever phrases in an attempt to belittle Frunze and to show the folly of Frunze's position. Frunze merely listed his main and supporting points, while Trotsky constantly reproached Frunze for his lack of understanding. Trotsky had three major concerns. These concerns dealt with the issue of a standing army, the issue regarding a proletariat way of war, and the practicality of creating a military ideology or philosophy with which to manage the Red Army. Ironically, these three issues were the same three themes that Engels used in his writings.

The first issue was with the concept of a standing army. Many Bolsheviks were never completely satisfied with Trotsky's Red Army, knowing that it had been created as a temporary device in 1918 to be demobilized and replaced by the militia as quickly as possible after the Russian Civil War. But at the 10th Congress, Frunze announced that the Red Army existed to protect the dictatorship of the proletariat both in and out of Russia, which shed a whole new light to the role of the Red Army. In light of this new role, centralized, disciplined and trained forces were critical for victory, since the Red Army must be prepared to assist workers in other nations to revolt against their Capitalist bosses. To Trotsky, the main flaw of this aspect of Frunze's theses was that it sounded like he wanted to resurrect the Tsarist standing army that they had so recently destroyed. The main difference between the Tsarist army and the Red Army, Frunze pointed out, was that the Red Army was run by the will of the workers and promoted worker's aims

and goals. Frunze's concepts of UMD were still insufficiently mature at this point to explain to Trotsky that the volunteer, militia system was not possible in a nation of peasants, however he attempted to explain by pointing out that Trotsky himself remarked that the peasants of Russia will never aid foreign workers in their revolution; that is why, Frunze said, in order to do this, the peasants must be turned into worker-soldiers. To Frunze, the only way to do that was by teaching Marxist thought to peasants, so they understand the reasons behind their actions.

The second of Trotsky's issues was that there was not really such a thing as a proletarian way of war. Trotsky said that strategy and tactics are not derived from a proletarian outlook, but from such objective factors such as military technique, logistics, geography, and the enemy's capabilities. Frunze countered by stating that the proletarian way of war was defined by taking the initiative and continually pursuing the offense. Frunze's position was that the strategic goals of the Soviet State depended upon Marxist ideology. In order to fulfill the goals of the State, the Red Army would have to think like the State, and in order to do that, they must be taught Marxist thought in a systematic way. Trotsky objected to Frunze's insistence that the Russian Civil War had been characterized by an offensive and active policy on the part of the Red Army. Trotsky believed that the proper strategic course was in defense, in order to consolidate the recent gains of the Soviet State. Frunze argued the opposite; that the Red Army must prepare to continue the offense in support of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The offense would be initiated to defeat Capitalist forces when the time was right, or to aid workers in other countries in their fight against capital.

Trotsky also argued that any kind of military doctrine required both internal and external stability in order to develop. That stability was not present yet in the Soviet State, and, according to Trotsky, until such a time as this stability occurred, no new doctrine could be implemented. Frunze argued that there must be a UMD precisely because there was such turmoil, in order to prevent total chaos and further disunity of purpose between the Soviet State and the Red Army.

However, Trotsky's main complaint regarding Frunze's position was the matter of Frunze's continued insistence on viewing military matters through a Marxist prism. Trotsky's main question, after all, was one of the feasibility of creating a UMD by the application of the Marxist method. Trotsky argued that UMD should be "concrete, precise and filled with historical content."²² Trotsky attempted to counter Frunze by saying that, while Marx provides scientific prediction of the future, it could not provide ready recipes regarding military construction. Conceptually, Frunze was attempting to look to the future to solve military problems, where Trotsky wanted to stick to solutions that had worked well in the past.

However, Trotsky often tried to show that it was Frunze who was mired in the past. One way Trotsky tried to undermine Frunze's concept of a proletarian military doctrine was to claim that Frunze took his ideas from Suvorov, the eighteenth century nobleman who commanded a Tsarist army of serfs.²³ The implication that a Tsarist nobleman was the originator behind Frunze's method was a direct attempt to refute Frunze's position regarding a proletarian way of war. The image of Suvorov also conjured up images of oversimplified maxims that had turned Suvorov's method into a mindless belief in the offensive and bayonet in the late 19th century. The end of this

phase of the debate showed that Trotsky and many other Communists as well, remained skeptical regarding the issue of using the “class character of the State” as the vehicle for solving military problems. The bottom line was that, according to Frunze, UMD was an attempt to create a military philosophy or ideology, not merely a series of guidelines and regulations with which to manage, lead, train, and equip worker-soldiers in the Red Army. With Marxist doctrine as its firm base, guidelines and regulations would take on a new focus, culminating with the synchronization of purpose between the Red Army and the Soviet State.

As time would tell, Trotsky’s most serious blunder lay in his inability to see the political dangers in his position and methods. The first indicator of this was Trotsky skirting Lenin’s speech regarding unity. At this time, Lenin insisted that the Bolshevik Party agree on fundamental principles, so as not to fragment and lose the hard-won gains from the Russian Civil War. Frunze’s UMD was an attempt to do just that; provide unity of purpose to the Red Army. The second indicator was Frunze’s use of Marxist and Engelsian rhetoric in his approach to creating a military doctrine. Trotsky believed that Frunze’s error was his inability to distinguish between political and military strategy.²⁴ Trotsky forgot that Marxists do not see the military as separate and distinct from the other sources of power. Finally, because the 10th Party Congress was a Bolshevik gathering, military specialists such as Svechin and Neznamov, who were not Party members, were not there to defend or refute the two positions. Had they been involved, it is most likely that they would have supported Trotsky.

This presentation at the 10th Party Congress was the starting point in Frunze’s political-military theoretical thought, but this first attempt at presenting the issue of UMD

was not well polished. According to John Erickson, Frunze was both clumsy and vague in his first attempt at the UMD.²⁵ By Frunze's own admission, the presentation at the 10th Party Congress was riddled with defects. Frunze later conceded that his thoughts had "a certain vagueness, inexactness and lack of understanding in formulation." At this time, Frunze thought that there was no clear definition of a Unified Military Doctrine, and instead tried to focus on a series of general ideas and the practical steps stemming from those ideas that would comprise that concept.²⁶ He had not presented a plan with which to transform the Red Army from a chaotic hodgepodge into a unified force because he had not yet figured out how to do it. It would take several additional attempts at distilling and refining his thoughts before Frunze would be ready to present such a plan. Frunze was consistent, however, to his three pillars of success: initiative, offense, and loyalty, in addition to addressing each of Engels' themes

Though Frunze was elected to the Central Committee at the 10th Party Congress, and despite Frunze's growing political and military authority within the Party, the Central Committee did not immediately accept his concept of UMD. Frunze was a military hero, but was not yet known within the Party as a major political figure, despite his agitation in the St. Petersburg Polytechnic Institute, his leadership role in the Ivanovo strike, the 1905 revolution, his seven years in prison, and his Party work in Minsk. In actuality, due to Trotsky's initial arguments against Frunze's position, it was on the verge of being rejected by the Central Committee.

The UMD debate was not just heated among military men; the Party took up the debate in the pages of the Party press. The UMD debate was ascribed great importance in Party circles, because the debate was no longer a purely military matter, it had become a

sounding board for opinions and loyalties, a test of the universal applicability of Marxism, and a vehicle for personal ambition and political survival. Of course, according to Frunze this debate was never solely about the military; rather it was about the relationship between Marxist thought, the goals of the State, and how the Red Army can best be formed to accomplish their primary task: the protection of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This framework would not change for Frunze with regard to the UMD debate in the upcoming months; what would change is the refinement of his position and the necessity for introspection before producing a military theory.

At the end of the 10th Party Congress, Lenin mentioned to Frunze that he must not come forth with a theory of proletarian military art, or he could fall into the danger of Communist swaggering. In part, this meant that Lenin believed that the Red Commanders were still insufficiently mature to pretend to know the truth in all of military affairs, and by doing so, would undermine their legitimacy in the eyes of international workers if their theories were proven false. Frunze's concepts were clearly the precursor of his view of the correct relationship between the military and the State in a Socialist society, but because he was young and was not perceived to know Marx and Engels as well as the older Bolsheviks did, he was initially rebuffed. Lenin told Frunze to study more because he was premature in his theory. Trotsky's opposition and Lenin's rebuke proved sufficient to move Frunze and Gusev to withdraw their proposed program; thereafter Gusev refrained from further work on military doctrine, but for Frunze, the debate had taken on an entirely new flavor; it was now a Party issue.²⁷ After the Congress, Frunze went to Turkey for eight months. He then returned to his post in Ukraine in January 1922, and began to revise his concepts.

¹Matthew M. Hurley, *A Worker's Way of War: The Red Army's Doctrinal Debate, 1918-1924* (Master's Thesis, University of Washington, 1991), 34.

²*Ibid.*, 23.

³Mikhail V. Frunze, *Edinaia Voennaia Doktrina I Krasnaia Armia* (Unified Military Doctrine and the Red Army). In *Izbrannye Proizvedeniia*. Moscow: Voenizdat, 1977. Frunze's fourth thesis at the 10th Party Congress said that all military regulations, manuals, and directives must reflect Marx. Later, in the *UMD and the Red Army* article, Frunze stated that the character of military doctrine is determined by the character of the political line by the ruling social class of the State. In the case of the Soviet State, this political line is Marxism.

⁴Sigmund Neumann and Mark von Hagen, *Engels and Marx on Revolution, War, and the Army in Society*, in Peter Paret, ed. *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986), 265.

⁵*Ibid.*, 262.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷Walter Darnell Jacobs, *Mikhail Vasilyevich Frunze and the Unified Military Doctrine* (New York: Columbia University Dissertation in Political Science, 1961), 96.

⁸*Ibid.*, 60.

⁹Neumann, 263.

¹⁰Condoleezza Rice, *The Making of Soviet Strategy*, in Paret, Peter, ed. *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986), 648.

¹¹Gordon A. Craig, *The Political Leader as Strategist*, in Paret, Peter, ed. *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986), 508.

¹²Hurley, 38.

¹³Jacobs, 77.

¹⁴Vladimir Lenin in <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/RUSlenin.htm> accessed on 6 April 2004.

¹⁵Hurley, 35.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Andrei A. Kokoshin, *Soviet Strategic Thought, 1917-1991* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1998), 29.

¹⁹Hurley, 38.

²⁰Kokoshin, 74.

²¹Jacob W. Kipp, *Mass, Mobility, and the Red Army's Road to Operational Art, 1918 1936* (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Soviet Army Studies Office, 1990), 11.

²²Hurley, 40.

²³Ibid., 77.

²⁴Jacobs, 48.

²⁵John Erickson, *The Soviet High Command: A Military-Political History, 1918-1941* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1944), 130-131.

²⁶Kokoshin, 29.

²⁷Hurley, 40.

CHAPTER 5

FRUNZE REFINES HIS POSITION

Upon the conclusion of the 10th Party Congress, Mikhail Frunze returned to his posting in Ukraine. Four months later, in July 1921, he wrote an article entitled “A UMD and the Red Army.” This article was meant to explain to the greater Bolshevik community how he had reached his current beliefs regarding a Unified Military Doctrine. It was both a revision and a clarification of his earlier ideas. In this article, he began with the history of UMD. The debate began in Tsarist times, but now was the time for the clarification of the UMD, Frunze argued, due to the great achievements of the revolution, the end of the counterrevolution, and coming to power of the working class. UMD was important to all countries, Frunze argued, because UMD reflected the system of life and the class character of each particular State.¹

Next, Frunze explained the components of UMD. In sum, UMD provided direction to a mass effort in a total war. Frunze believed that future wars would require the synthesis of all State, social, and military efforts. Frunze Stated that prior planning based on an accurate threat analysis was required in order to use State resources wisely. The bottom line to Frunze was that the military should do whatever is necessary in order to accomplish the goals of the State--in the case of the Soviet State, meeting Marxist objectives by preparing to defeat international capital. According to Frunze, in order to accomplish this goal, military doctrine must be unified in order to use resources wisely and ensure that all efforts of the nation were focused in the same direction.²

Frunze divided the UMD into two sections: the technical and the political. The technical section included the training of troops, the organization of the army and the

methods of solving combat problems. The political section consisted of the relationship of the armed forces to the general system of State life and the character of military problems, seen in the context of the class struggle.³

In the technical section, Frunze explained the need for the UMD by comparing the USSR to a besieged fortress that will remain in this position as long as capital prevails in the world. In order to extricate the USSR from its siege, Frunze argued, the Red army must prepare itself for an epic struggle. However, Frunze remained vague on the technical military details of UMD.

The purpose of the government of the USSR, as part of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was to facilitate the destruction of Capitalistic production relationships.⁴ That would manifest itself after the revolt of the workers against their Capitalist masters, or a revolution of the people against their Capitalist government. According to Frunze, the fundamental task of the Red Army was the annihilation of Capitalist relations of production, or the physical destruction of the means whereby Capitalist masters or governments keep the workers under their yoke. To Frunze, this would be a long, persistent, desperate war to the death between Capitalists and Communists, which would demand colossal endurance, discipline, firmness, steadfastness, and unity of will. But some overarching theory, Frunze argued, must provide this focus and discipline to the Red Army. In his opinion, that was why the Red Army needed a UMD.⁵ This thought process, the need for an overarching theory that provided focus and discipline, as well as purpose and direction to the Red Army, was used as the basis for several articles by Frunze, and was the baseline behind the UMD.

In the same article, Frunze described his method for solving combat problems by relating those problems to Marxist principles. The essence of the UMD world view corresponding to Frunze's proposals can be summed up in the following quote:

There exist deep and principled contradictions between the structure of proletarian Statehood on the one hand, and the surrounding bourgeois Capitalist world on the other. This makes confrontation and struggle between these two feuding worlds inevitable. Thus, the aim of political education in the Red Army is to maintain and enhance its constant preparedness to fight against world capital.⁶

This worldview, according to Frunze, was the driving force behind the need for a UMD, to ensure that all of the Red Army actions would assist in achieving the end state of the defeat of world capital. Though to us this is propaganda of the first order, Mikhail Frunze, in all probability, believed this statement to be true. He was also convinced, possibly after seeing the repression of the workers in the 1905 Revolution first hand, that the Red Army stood as the protector of imminent revolution:

At the first convenient moment, the waves of the bourgeois Capitalist ocean surrounding our proletarian island will rush in to attempt to sweep away all the achievements of the proletarian revolution. At the same time, the flames of revolutionary fires are erupting more and more frequently in various countries of the bourgeois world, and the formidable tramp of proletarian columns preparing for the attack reveals in part the plans of the other side. This contradiction can be eliminated only by force in a bloody battle between class enemies. There is and can be no other way out.⁷

With that kind of outlook, it is clear that Frunze believed in July 1921 that there would be an enormous clash sometime in the future, between Capitalists and Communists, and the role of the Red Army not only was to prevent the loss of those achievements that had already been gained by the October Revolution, but to protect those "revolutionary fires" which may erupt anywhere around the world.

It is accurate to say that Trotsky wanted many of the same things that Frunze was advocating; however Trotsky believed that Frunze's second line of thought, offensive

operations against world Capitalism, was dangerous at that time. Trotsky believed that the Red Army should be used to defend the USSR against the bourgeoisie and landlords, in essence to protect the gains that had already been made. Trotsky's reasoning did not discount assisting other revolutions, but in the first place he believed that the USSR was still too weak and backward to transition to the offense, and he also believed that the Soviet peasants could never be rallied to support an international war.⁸ Frunze again countered this statement by discussing his methodology for training the Red Army. The main training that the worker-soldier should receive would be political education. If every worker-soldier knew the thought process behind Marx' precepts, Frunze reasoned their duty would be clear: eliminate Capitalist domination of workers by destroying their means of production. This will cause the workers to rise up and destroy their masters, setting off a chain of events that would culminate in the empowerment of the workers of the world.

Frunze later proposed a more robust training program within the Red Army in his Ukrainian Theses in March 1923, which included an emphasis on developing technology, but at this time he only proposed that the main line of training within the Red Army should be political. Frunze had refined his position considerably in the past four months, but would not really get to the specifics of his training program until much later.

In the political section of the article *UMD and the Red Army*, Frunze attempted to describe his thought process behind the relationship between any given State and military. To do this, Frunze used the relationship between the military and the States of Germany, France, England, and Tsarist Russia. He used these examples to show that the character of the State dictated the character of the military. Frunze's maxim regarding

this relationship was a direct defense of his and Engels' assertion that the proletariat has its own unique way of war.⁹ In addition, these examples served as a way of emphasizing Frunze's own beliefs regarding UMD. Taking the initiative, conducting offensive operations, and maintaining Party loyalty, were not individually unique to the Soviet State, but holistically made up the unique character of the Red Army, and this must be reflected in its training, equipping and mission focus.

In the German example, the German military doctrine was offensive in nature because the German State itself was aggressive. The Army's spirit was a reflection of the State's active and offensive nature. In the case of France, Frunze described them as having an economic character of rapacity, deviously seizing property to search for a way to catch up with the other great powers, which were greedily dividing the world to add to their empires. To Frunze, French military doctrine was a reflection of its political policies of temporizing and opportunism. In the case of England, the military doctrine also mirrored its economic policies and class character. Frunze thought that England exploited her colonies through naval dominance, therefore her military was sea based and focused on exploitation. In the case of the Tsarist military, lack of flexible doctrine was bad; the Tsarist State was both orthodox and autocratic. Therefore, according to Frunze, the military principles reflected the system of life of a given people and in particular, the essence and character of that social class which holds the power at a given time.¹⁰ This was important, because when the Capitalist masters are overthrown, and the workers rise up in any given country, the nature of that country's military will change and become favorable to that of the USSR.

After this lengthy explanation regarding his examples, Frunze then drew five conclusions regarding the basis of a UMD. The first conclusion was that the military matters of a given State are entirely shaped by the general conditions of life of that State. This allowed Frunze to determine the nature of any given army by analyzing the nature of the conditions of life within that State. Secondly, Frunze determined that the character of the military doctrine of a given State is determined by the character of the political line of the ruling social class of that State. This statement gave purpose to promoting revolutions abroad, and granted that the nature of an army must change, based on the character of the ruling Party. These first two conclusions directly support Frunze's assertion that the proletariat has a unique way of war, but still come no closer to defining the details of that unique method.

Thirdly, Frunze determined that the basic conditions for the vitality of a military doctrine were contained with the general aims of the State and with those material and spiritual resources at its disposal. In the case of the USSR, Frunze argued, the nature of the Soviet State was its manifestation of Marxist doctrine. Therefore, the Red Army must follow the general aims of Marxist thought, providing the baseline for political education and the requirement for a UMD. More importantly, UMD was a link between the policies of the State and the plans of the Red Army. According to Frunze, without UMD the goals of the State could not be accomplished. Fourthly, Frunze determined that vital military doctrine cannot be invented, but it was a product of material conditions supplemented by theoretical work and the requirements of the military art. That meant that the nature of the doctrine of a given army was inherent in the conditions that reside within that country. When those conditions change, the doctrine must change as well, as military doctrine is

inextricably linked to the conditions of the State. Conclusions three and four attempted to support Frunze's assertion that the doctrine of the Red Army must be entwined with the political doctrine of the State, which, for the Soviet State, meant Marxist doctrine.

However, Frunze was beginning to temper theory with reality, especially the backward nature of the Soviet State regarding technology, industrialization, and workers.

Finally, Frunze determined that the fundamental theoretical tasks of Communists with reference to the Red Army were the following:

- To study the international environment (threat analysis)
- To define the character of the Soviet State and the military tasks that flow from it
- Study the material and spiritual resources for the fulfillment of those tasks
- Study the construction of the Red Army and its combat methods
- Study the demands of a proletarian State in a revolutionary epoch

Those five fundamental theoretical tasks, Frunze argued, formed the basis for a Unified Military Doctrine, defined its purpose, and provided direction for the Red Army to fulfill that purpose. After establishing Marxist doctrine as the basis for all doctrine in the Red Army, the next step, Frunze argued, was to take the lessons learned from the Russian Civil War and to apply them to this framework to discover the true nature of the Red Army, its relationship to the Soviet State, and its responsibility to the rest of the world. This goes back to Frunze's main point of contention with Engels--that the Soviet State was different from the State that Engels envisioned would become a Socialist State. These differences mainly consisted of the nature of the population within the Bolshevik State, which, at this time, was of peasant origins. As he discusses in his earlier writings, according to Frunze, peasants have their own way of war, characterized by individual, partisan action and night operations. While a necessary substitute until such a time as the

Soviet Union gained technological superiority over Capitalism, a peasant army was not conducive to the proletariat way of war.

Regarding the responsibility of the Red Army, Frunze asserted that it included seizing the initiative from Capitalists, when the conditions were favorable. These conditions depended on the level of maturity of the international revolutionary process, the level of economic development within the Soviet State, the level of technical advancement within the Soviet State, and the danger of doing nothing. This last course of action would allow the Capitalists to regain the initiative, something Frunze would never accept. Frunze also wanted the Red Army to be prepared to assume the offense and gain the spirit of maneuvering on a large scale. Frunze said that the next war would be a long, persistent, desperate war to the death between Capitalism and Communism. A common parallel existence between the Soviet State and Capitalistic world was not possible, Frunze argued, and ultimately this situation could only be resolved by force of arms in a bloody battle of class enemies, to Frunze there was no other answer.

Walter Jacobs believed that the target of Frunze's article "UMD and the Red Army" was Leon Trotsky, with the purpose of attempting to affect a change. Based on Trotsky's arguments at the 10th Party Congress, he did not believe that the Red Army needed to implement a UMD, so it seems unlikely that Frunze could change Trotsky's views. In addition, Jacobs remarked that, by July 1921, Frunze had committed the Red Army and the Soviet State to an offensive doctrine. While Frunze had a solid reputation within the Bolshevik Party, and eventually managed to convince the Central Committee to adopt his course of action, he could never personally direct such a course without the approval of that Soviet government. His reputation was bolstered by the fact that he had

been in personal contact with Lenin since 1904, had accomplished every mission that the Party had set before him, had served seven years in Tsarist prisons in service toward the Bolshevik cause, and was a hero of the Russian Civil War. While these facts tend to support the position that Mikhail Frunze was taken seriously, Frunze could not commit the Soviet State to any action; while a member of the Central Committee, he was only one of hundreds of voices within that governmental body. His position, however, began to influence members of the Central Committee, so in that way, Frunze influenced the eventual course of the Soviet State.

In March 1922, just prior to the 11th Party Congress, Mikhail Frunze spoke to the political commissars of Ukraine and the Crimea, and further refined his views of UMD.¹¹ He said, “Only now can we consider the education of the Army concerning training and nature of the Army and its possible missions. Before that we were absorbed with the practical matters.”¹² With their rule stabilized at last, the Bolsheviks were ready to address the fundamental issues of military strategy, which included the character of the next war, the form of the Red Army, and the nature of the “new military method.”¹³ This speech was derived from his earlier article “The Red Army and the UMD”, with several differences in both content and in clarification, and will be referred to as the Ukrainian Theses.

The basic premise within the *Ukrainian Theses* was the need for some documented concept to provide a unity of will and thought in the Army using the Marxist method. According to Frunze, this document should be the UMD. Frunze asked the question: What would be the nature of the future military clashes? To him, the nature of future clashes was the conflict between international capital and the international

counterrevolutionary movement, and the *Ukrainian Theses* were meant to address how to educate and restructure the Red Army to deal with that threat. The *Ukrainian Theses* were broken down into fourteen separate points, each of which help to clarify Frunze's position within the UMD debate. It is important to remember that Frunze never laid claim to inventing any aspect of this UMD. He observed the situation in the Soviet State, compared it to his framework for success that had been developing since 1905, and looked at it through a Marxist prism. The results were these fourteen theses; the third attempt by Frunze to present his thoughts to a body of military and political Bolsheviks in order to affect his views of necessary changes over the weakening institution of the Red Army.

The first thesis was that the UMD should not be a dogmatic system, but a guide to action. Initiative was not to be stifled, so long as actions were taken in accordance with Marxist precepts. It was important to Frunze to emphasize the holistic nature of the sources of power within the Soviet State. Frunze explained that this doctrine (which he later called worldview) would constitute a guide to action rather than an inviolable dogma so that the "economic and socio-political conditions of a given epoch" can also be taken into account.¹⁴ It was with the merger of diplomatic, military, and economic sources of power that Frunze was able to show the linkage between his UMD and Marxist thought.

The second thesis was that the army is composed of toilers. The Red Army, as a class army of toilers, existed for the defense of the proletarian revolution from bourgeois counterrevolution and the onslaught of world imperialism and for the support of the coming Socialist revolution in Europe. This thesis encompassed Frunze's belief that

Engel's second theme, to build a militia rather than a standing army, was not yet applicable to the Soviet State. Frunze believed that the Soviets must first make worker-soldiers out of the peasants that comprised the Red Army.

The third thesis was that the clash between the proletarian State system and the bourgeois Capitalist world was inevitable. Frunze addressed the nature of the struggle between communism and Capitalism as ceaseless. He remarked that the threat of Capitalist encirclement demanded constant vigilance and military preparations.¹⁵ The nature of this struggle, to Frunze, should define the organization and goals of the Red Army.¹⁶

The fourth thesis was that Red Army would be a weapon for the protection of international proletariat. To Frunze, revolutionary wars were very different from previous wars; they were, in essence, class wars. In Frunze's opinion, future wars would be class on class, and the Red Army must be ready to lend help. Therefore it must be technically and psychologically prepared to resolve any mission given to it, with the burden of the world's workers on its conscience. This would require the Red Army to be prepared to defend the revolution at any time. It would require the highest level of operational readiness. Frunze maintained that in the war between Capitalism and communism the Red Army would either defend itself against imperialist attacks or advancing together with the toilers of other countries in joint combat. Frunze believed that the Red Army might need to go on the offensive and take the initiative, if its help to another external force of workers might prove decisive.¹⁷ Frunze also demanded that the Soviet State must go over to the offense against Capitalists whenever the conditions were favorable, though he conceded that may not be possible for a long time due to the backwardness of the

Soviet State in terms of technology and the sheer number of peasants who must be first turned into workers.

The fifth thesis was that new tactics and strategy would develop with the coming to power of the working class. The nature of these tactics would be based on Marxist ideology, but the specific tactics had yet to be determined, and the tactical direction that Frunze wanted the Red Army to take would not be clear in Frunze's mind for another eight months. This thesis emphasized Engels' first theme and his third theme: that the proletariat has its own unique way of war and that all of the power in a State is subordinate to the political. Similarly, it addressed one of Frunze's pillars for success: loyalty to the Party. In this thesis, Frunze acknowledged that the military was subordinate to the political, and that Marxist ideology is the baseline from which all Red Army doctrine must be developed.

The sixth thesis was that the offensive character of maneuver from the Russian Civil War resulted from the class nature of the Soviet State. This aspect of the Ukrainian theses directly correlated to the earlier "The Red Army and the UMD" article, in which Frunze associated the nature of the State to the nature of the army in any given country. Though done in a rather superficial way, Frunze attempted to show that the military of any given country would mirror that of its society. This would become very important in showing the link between the proletariat of the Soviet Union and its unique way of war, which consisted of offensive operations, seizing and maintaining the initiative, and loyalty to the State.

The seventh thesis was that future wars would be wars of maneuver. Both the bourgeois and proletariat used maneuver, Frunze argued, but the bourgeois used

maneuver to gain an advantage (do something to gain something for the Capitalists) and the proletariat uses maneuver because it is in its very nature to create or produce something. This concept was a bit unclear, but Frunze was talking about the inability for the proletariat to stand still. To Frunze, the proletariat embodied the divine spark that strives to create. Creation required constant forward movement. The proletariat, according to Frunze, must take the initiative because it is in its very nature necessary to do something for its own sake.¹⁸ This thesis was possibly based on Frunze's experiences as a worker in Ivanovo in the summer of 1905, when he directly observed the nature of workers. In addition, in the Russian Civil War, Frunze's most notable accomplishments were due to bold maneuver at Ufa and perseverance at Perekop. In addition, Frunze knew that the terrain of the Soviet Union favored maneuver warfare. This thesis encompassed one of Frunze's pillars of success: offensive operations.

The eighth thesis was that the objectives of both the Soviet forces and those of the enemy would not only be enemy focused (destroy and defeat armies), but also terrain and information focused (seize his logistic bases, influence his centers of power, create a fifth column). While still immature at this point, Frunze's concept of total war meant that all levels of society would be involved in future warfare, not only the Red Army. This would be true for the Capitalists as well. Destroying the army of the Capitalists was not the main thing for Frunze; to him, those soldiers were merely exploited workers. Frunze believed that the Red Army would have to destroy the means of production to feed the Capitalist war machine. Frunze believed that as long as either side had the means of production to continue the war, the loss of a field army would not be decisive.

The ninth thesis was that the basic form of maneuver would be the offense to gain the initiative. Frunze conceded that there is a place for defensive operations, but only as a way to transition into the dominant form of maneuver, the offense. Frunze thought that the goals of the revolution could only be served by a program of training for the armed forces that stressed the spirit of the offensive. This thesis encompasses the third of Frunze's pillars of success: to seize the initiative and continue the offense.

The tenth thesis was that the tactics of Red Army would be offensive in nature, due to its proletariat class nature. Frunze discussed the class character of the worker-peasant army and the spirit of the bold and energetically executed offensive operations that took place during the Russian Civil War as being essential to framing tactical problems in future wars. This thesis provides further clarification of the fifth thesis, but no new insight. As Frunze continued to refine his position, as will be shown with his presentation to the 11th Party Congress, he consolidated these two somewhat redundant theses into a tighter package.

The eleventh thesis was to not waste resources on defensive systems because the war of the future will be a war of maneuver. Frunze stated that "By no means do we reject defensive operations, but we consider retreat to be part of the offense. Accepting the idea of retreat alone, disconnected from the idea of taking the offense must not occur."¹⁹ Clearly the notion of defensive operations was foreign to most Communist thinkers, barring Trotsky, who was ultimately concerned about maintaining control of the USSR. Marxism as a dynamic theory of historical progress saw defense only as a temporary condition until the offense could be seized. This thesis, like the tenth, provides clarification to two earlier theses; the seventh and the ninth.

The twelfth thesis called for the maximum elasticity and flexibility in the training of the command personnel of the Red Army, so that they could in turn train the rest of the Red Army. This would be done by increasing the military qualifications for each soldier, revising military regulations, and strengthening the bonds between soldiers and their commanders, which Frunze referred to as a spiritual bond. This thesis was an amalgamation of Frunze's military and political experiences. Militarily, Frunze knew that the Red Army was not well trained during the Russian Civil War. In Frunze's view, they succeeded because the will of the officers who led them was greater than the will of the White forces, and that will was directly tied to their belief in their political cause. Frunze wanted, above all, a set of regulations that were the baseline of all Red Army soldiers to learn so that the Red Army could be of one mind. Being of one mind was the whole purpose behind UMD. Frunze believed that this would only be possible under the same system that the political element of power used for its legitimacy: the teachings of Marx and Engels. This thesis was the basis of Red Army transformation in 1925.

The thirteenth thesis discussed developing new tools of war in order to leverage these technological advantages on the battlefield. Until these technological advantages were made, the Soviet State must use other means such as partisan warfare and night actions to overcome the advantage currently enjoyed by the bourgeoisie. Frunze did not expect these partisan actions to continue once the Red Army had transformed into worker-soldiers, nor did he expect them to continue once the Soviet State had reached a position of technological advantage.

The final thesis was to develop a program of training for the Red Army to eliminate illiteracy with the end state of providing political education to each Red Army

worker-soldier. In Frunze's opinion, this education and training must be conducted on the basis on unified views that will permeate the entire army. It should be based on the fundamental questions relating to the tasks of the Red Army, the foundations on which it is built and its methods of conducting combat operations.²⁰ Besides being the bottom line for the Ukrainian Theses, this thesis was a summary of Frunze's fourth point at the 10th Party Congress, which stated that the regulations, manuals, and directives of the Red Army must reflect Marxist thought.

The fourteen *Ukrainian Theses* were well received by the political commissars of Ukraine and the Crimea. As a result, Frunze distilled the best points from these theses and packaged them for presentation to the Central Committee at the 11th Party Congress, which took place on March 22, 1922. The fourteen *Ukrainian Theses* were boiled down into five basic points:

1. The Red Army must be trained and educated on the basis on unified concepts, and its activities and tasks must correspond to the views of the State.

2. This unified concept must embrace the manifestation of proletarian life in both peace and war. In other words, this UMD must reflect the life of the Soviet State. These first two points supports Frunze's detailed explanation within the "UMD and the Red Army" article that discussed the reason that each State must have its own unique doctrine, based on the nature of each individual State.

3. The UMD should be composed of two sections: technical and political. While Frunze believed that the military should be subordinate to the political, he acknowledged that there were distinct tasks that the military must accomplish that, while they could be governed by Marxist doctrine, were purely military tasks.

4. The technical section will outline the methods of combat training, organization of the Red Army, and methods of leadership. These are the military tasks that would be developed based on the successes of the Russian Civil War.

5. The political section will determine the tasks facing Soviet State, discuss the internal regimen of the Red Army, and the political education of the worker-soldiers. This is the link between the Red Army and the Soviet State, to ensure that the Red Army is acting in accordance with Marxist writings and that the Red Army is accomplishing the goals of the Soviet State.²¹

At the 11th Party Congress, Frunze outlined the *Ukrainian Theses* and the above distilled points, in addition to discussing the five basic factors of the UMD: political, communication network, human and material resources, barracks and billets, and transportation.²² At this point, Frunze had identified factors of the UMD, but still had not defined how those changes should be undertaken. Frunze said that in the past (referring to the Russian Civil War) there had been a mass of mistakes and that the Red Army had been badly prepared. He identified that the imperialist armies would be technically superior and the Bolshevik revolution would suffer certain defeat if the Red Army were not prepared to minimize its weaknesses. Its only hope was to become a unified organism, welded together by political ideology and trained on the basis on the experiences of the first proletarian victory, the Russian Civil War. Maneuver and offensive operations would win future wars.

Next, Frunze attacked the concept of a territorial militia. Because the Soviet Union was “a few island cities in a sea of peasant villages,” Frunze called for a standing worker army rather than a peasant militia.²³ Based on Frunze’s political and military

experiences, he determined that workers and peasants each have their strengths. Workers were skillful in organizing mass actions, were offensive minded, sought initiative and activity, and preferred mobility and maneuver by their very nature. Frunze saw this first hand at the Ivanovo strikes, his leadership of Shuya Bolsheviks in both 1905 and 1917, and in the Russian Civil War as well. They would make the ideal worker-soldier, Frunze argued, in order to fully express the proletarian way of war.

On the other hand, peasants excelled in individual actions, small unit (squad) actions, and partisan warfare.²⁴ The peasant, Frunze argued, was defense minded; while workers (proletarians) were naturally gifted for the offensive. Consequently, it was both dangerous to rely on peasants in territorial militia formations and an ineffective way to prepare for the next war. However, night attacks and partisan actions, tasks that the peasants were so adept at, would be acceptable methods of compensating for the current level of Soviet technological backwardness until the worker-soldiers were fully trained and the technological shortfalls were made up. Since the vast majority of soldiers in the Red Army were peasants, as was about 90 percent of the population of the Soviet State, Frunze required a UMD to help transform the Red Army into an effective tool of the State. According to Frunze, the nature of the Soviet State demanded the transformation of the peasants into ideologically changed worker-soldiers, and this could only be done through the structure of a Unified Military Doctrine.²⁵

Finally, Frunze said that the central regulations committee was ineffective. Their job was to produce the regulations for the training and administration of the army, but this was not being done in a way that allowed the Red Army to maximize its strengths, nor was it done in cooperation with the goals of the Soviet State. Frunze suggested

increasing the emphasis of educating the higher and mid level personnel on Marxist precepts in order to create the conditions necessary for the training of lower level platoon and squad commanders. This would ensure that the Red Army had the same ideological focus as the rest of the State, and would carry out the tasks that support the goals of the Soviet State. This suggestion showed a concrete way to teach Marxist doctrine to the Red Army. This concept of “training the trainer” was one way that Frunze clarified his position with regard to specific goals of his training program.

Frunze stayed in Ukraine and Crimea until 1924, when he was called to be the chairman of Revvoensovet, commandant of the staff college of the Red Army, and deputy People’s commissar for military and naval affairs of the USSR.²⁶ This promotion would give him the power to implement those changes that he had been advocating for the past three years, and would allow him to oversee the transformation of the Red Army

¹Condoleezza Rice, *The Making of Soviet Strategy*, in Paret, Peter, ed. *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986), 654.

²Walter Darnell Jacobs, *Mikhail Vasilyevich Frunze and the Unified Military Doctrine* (New York: Columbia University Dissertation in Political Science, 1961), 37.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., 41.

⁵Matthew M. Hurley, *A Worker’s Way of War: The Red Army’s Doctrinal Debate, 1918-1924* (Thesis, University of Washington, 1991), page 47 and Mikhail V. Frunze. *Edinaia Voennaia Doktrina I Krasnaia Armia* (Unified Military Doctrine and the Red Army). In *Izbrannye Proizvedeniia* (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1977), 48.

⁶Mikhail V. Frunze, *Edinaia Voennaia Doktrina I Krasnaia Armia* (Unified Military Doctrine and the Red Army) in *Voennyi Vestnik*, no. 5-6, 1922, page 33. This was the first time that the article *UMD and the Red Army* was published.

⁷Mikhail V. Frunze, *Edinaia Voennaia Doktrina I Krasnaia Armiia* (Unified Military Doctrine and the Red Army) in *Izbrannye Proizvedeniia* (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1977), 14.

⁸Matthew M. Hurley, *A Worker's Way of War: The Red Army's Doctrinal Debate, 1918-1924* (Thesis, University of Washington, 1991), 74.

⁹Jacobs, 38.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 39.

¹¹Hurley, 65.

¹²Jacobs, 64.

¹³Rice, 653.

¹⁴Hurley, 66.

¹⁵Jacob W. Kipp, *Mass, Mobility, and the Red Army's Road to Operational Art, 1918-1936* (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Soviet Army Studies Office, 1990), 17.

¹⁶Jacobs, 55.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 70.

¹⁹Andrei A. Kokoshin, *Soviet Strategic Thought, 1917-1991* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1998), 148. Kokoshin refers to a speech that Frunze made at the 11th Party Congress in 1922.

²⁰Hurley, 66.

²¹*Ibid.*

²²John Erickson, *The Soviet High Command: A Military-Political History, 1918-1941* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1944), 134-135.

²³Kipp, 11.

²⁴Jacobs, 60.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 68.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 15.

CHAPTER 6

IMPLEMENTATION OF UMD AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE RED ARMY

After the 11th Party Congress, the need for a UMD for the Red Army was accepted by the Central Committee. But over time, high doctrinal debates receded into the background, and Frunze found himself consumed by the overwhelming, everyday problems of the Red Army.¹ This chapter will cover the fruition of Mikhail Frunze's part in the UMD debate, and the implementation of those aspects of UMD that transformed the Red Army.

In October 1923, Frunze claimed that the Red Army was unfit for combat. As a result of this claim, the Central Committee formed a special committee, headed by Frunze, to examine the way in which Commissar Trotsky was managing the Red Army. The results of this committee confirmed that the Red Army was in horrible shape, and as a result, the Central Committee appointed Frunze as the Deputy Commissar of War on 11 March 1924 to address these problems. Some scholars, such as Hurley and Erickson, argue that Frunze made these statements to weaken Trotsky's position as the Commissar of War, but there is no evidence or indication that Frunze was a political opportunist. In any case, as Deputy Commissar of War, Frunze was finally able to implement those reforms that he had argued for in the UMD debate. Besides being second in command of the Red Army, Frunze wore two additional hats: Chief of the Red Army Staff, and head of the Military Academy.

In April 1924, Frunze began to put his theories into practice by introducing many military reforms. One of his first acts was to create the Red Army staff. When he created

the Red Army staff, he was determined that it would be useful, highly trained, and respected. To lend this staff additional credibility, he himself held the post of Chief of the Red Army Staff for a short time.² As Chief of Staff, Frunze's goal was to head an organization that would create the orders and routine on which the Red Army would run, as well as the plans that the Red Army would use to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat. This staff would use Marxist principles as their foundation for planning, and would concentrate on the strategic end state of Marxist thought as it related to the Red Army. Frunze took it as a matter of fact that sound military planning, using Bolshevik principles, was the key to future victory, but other than the use of Marxist doctrine, those specific actions that distinguished a Soviet staff from any other staff continued to elude him. Frunze had the Red Army staff plan the defense of the USSR, while the inspectorate staffs (Army, Navy, Air Force) were responsible for detailed planning, training, and improving combat efficiency of the military.³ To Frunze, the Red Army staff was the "military brain of the State."⁴ Frunze believed that the Red Army staff was responsible for planning and implementing the political aspects of UMD and would be the bridge between the Soviet State and the Red Army. The inspectorate staffs were responsible for planning and implementing the technical aspects of UMD. He demanded that staffs be completely professional. Frunze had nothing but contempt for the weak and sloppy staff arrangements that he had dealt with during the Russian Civil War, such as the staff of Samoylo on the Eastern Front.

On 7 December 1924, Frunze outlined the principles for the military academy of the Red Army. He made sure that military science would be guided by the Marxist method, by ensuring that the military academy based its instruction on the teachings of

Marx and Engels.⁵ While Frunze had never attended a military or a staff college, in his two years as the leader of the military academy, Frunze began to transform the Red Army into an organism educated and trained on the basis of a UMD, which was firmly grounded in the principles of Marx and Engels.⁶

As the head of the military academy, Frunze conducted an intense study of the First World War, the results of which showed the increased importance of the strategic rear. As a result, Frunze focused more of his intellectual efforts and the efforts of the Red Army staff on industrial mobilization, strategic planning, and the integration of the military with the society of the USSR.⁷ The lessons learned from this study were transformed into action as Frunze began to push for the militarization of civil executive and administrative organs in order to bring greater efficiency into military mobilization, communications, and transportation.⁸ Incorporating lessons learned from the Russian Civil War might seem like Frunze was implementing Trotsky's original position in the UMD debate, but it is not exactly true. Frunze had every intention of incorporating those lessons into the Red Army, but he insisted that the Red Army examine those lessons learned through a Marxist prism.

As Deputy Commissar, Frunze began to implement the concepts that he had previously addressed during the UMD debate. He was able to initiate reforms in four broad areas: discipline and education, technology, personnel, and the proletarian way of war. Frunze had discovered that the discipline of the Red Army was very low, and he attributed it to a lack of education. Frunze said that discipline was to be maintained in the Red Army in two ways. The first change would be to instill the desire to "do the right thing" into the consciousness of the mass of the Red Army through political education.

Frunze believed that if the workers of the Red Army fully understood the teachings of Marx and Lenin, they would serve with a glad heart, eliminating the majority of the discipline problems. The second change was to increase the skill of the Red Commanders. Frunze proposed concentrating on improving communications between officers and soldiers, increasing the ability to form cohesive teams, and honing the political education of the leadership of the Red Army to a high degree. The last point was essential, Frunze thought, because it would be the duty of the officers to teach the soldiers correctly in terms of political and technical aspects of warfighting. Frunze believed in the maximum intellectual development of the individual Red Army soldier and thought that the only way to ensure that high level of development within the worker-soldiers of the Red Army was to create fully trained officers who could conduct that training.

An additional aspect of discipline was an issue regarding obedience. Frunze believed that the internal organization of the Red Army should approximate the ideal of Communist society, but condemned those who believed that the enlisted masses and the command personnel (officers) should share the complete equality that the Communist system espoused. Frunze knew from his personal experiences in the Russian Civil War that complete equality within the ranks would destroy an army, and he said this many times to the Central Committee. In war, someone must command and others must obey in order to accomplish those military tasks that are in direct contradiction to personal survival. In a perfect system, one in which every worker-soldier knew Marxist thought, this most basic and most important command relationship may be mitigated, or even

made irrelevant, since each worker-soldier would do his full duty, but in the reality of the Red Army, some must lead, based on education and experience, and the rest must obey.⁹

The second area that Frunze concentrated on was that of technology. Frunze was convinced that technology would play an increasingly important, even decisive, role in the next war. This conviction was partially derived from the staff study of the First World War that he had commissioned in 1924 as the head of the military academy, but probably also derived from his personal experiences during the Russian Civil War. Time and again, Frunze faced White forces that had been given technologically advanced weapons, such as communications devices, by western powers. Frunze presented a program to the Central Committee to transform the technical level of the Red Army rapidly, encompassing enhanced communications, enhanced firepower and protection, developing chemical warfare, and increasing the role of airpower.¹⁰

Frunze was convinced of the importance of technology, and predicted that machines would play an ever-increasing role in modern warfare. Technology by itself was lifeless, he said, but the outcome of the future war might depend more on the people of pure science than on the commander. He may have thought that in the future war, the role of the commander would be diminished when all of the Red Army soldiers fully understood the teachings of Marx and Engels and, as a result, would “do the right thing” as a result of their political education. However, in 1925 the Soviet State was hopelessly behind other capital powers in terms of technology. The war commissar therefore devoted considerable attention to acquiring foreign technology while simultaneously laying the foundation of an indigenous base, the total commitment of the government to this base being essential for the survival of the Soviet State.

The main personnel issue with which Frunze had to wrestle was the very nature of the Red Army, whether it would be militia-based or a professional standing force. Contrary to Marxist thought, Frunze advocated a standing Red Army, not a militia system. He thought that workers could create an effective militia, but the reality was that 90 percent or more of Russian was comprised of peasants, who were effective at individual or partisan warfare, rather than the mass formations that would be needed in the armies of the future. To make the militia system work, Frunze would have to turn peasants into military soldier-workers.¹¹

Frunze's rejection of the militia system was an important departure for the Bolsheviks, according to Condoleezza Rice. Under an order of March 1920, the transition to a militia had already begun within the young Soviet State. In 1925, under the influence of Frunze and by decree of the Central Committee, a mixed military system was established. This was a compromise between the ideal espoused by Engels and the reality of the conditions of the Soviet State as pointed out by Frunze in his various writings. This compromise was one of necessity, for the complete standing army that Frunze wanted was too expensive for the young Soviet State, but the difficulties of an entire army comprised of militia were many. The compromise set the level of the regular Red Army at 562,000, though for the next ten years, the territorial militia accounted for over half of the total infantry strength of the Red Army.¹²

Therefore, as a substitute for the kind of army that they preferred, the Bolsheviks worked to politicize and control the one they had. The position that bridged the professionalism and competence of the standing army versus the cost effective and communal involvement of a militia was the military commissar. The commissar system

was developed for the purpose of instilling Bolshevik political education into the workers of the Red Army. Even this system was not without its flaws, as political officers often showed an interest in command, which caused the system to operate less smoothly.¹³

The final area where Frunze influenced the transformation of the Red Army was in the consolidation of the proletarian form of warfare. Frunze's concept of its military system was in turn shaped by class relations, the external threats to the Soviet State, and the level of the economic development within the USSR.¹⁴ During the beginning of the UMD debate, one of the most fundamental premises that Frunze had was that the Soviet State had developed a unique form of warfare, based on the class nature of the proletariat. In 1925, Frunze's position changed. He conceded that the Red Army had not discovered a uniquely proletarian method of warfare; that other factors, such as the geography of the Soviet Union, gave the Red Army the ability to conduct a strategic withdrawal. This was not directly in contrast with the offensive nature of the proletariat, nor was it in complete contrast with Frunze's other writings and assertions; rather these other factors forced Frunze to recognize that other than a broad, general offensive strategy, there might not be specific proletarian tactics unique to UMD.

Frunze most important quality with respect to the UMD debate was the ability to take new information and adapt his views according to that new information. This was seen in the tactics he used in the Battles of Ufa and Perekop, the approaches he used in Central Asia in dealing with the Basmachi, his response to Trotsky's counter arguments in the 10th Party Congress debate, and now again with the very nature of the proletariat and war. The changing of Frunze's beliefs might have been a result of many factors, some of which must have included a more broad perspective due to his elevated position

within the military and Party, greater time to reflect on his earlier proposals, and the analysis that came from the study he had directed on the lessons of the First World War, but ultimately it was due to the mental flexibility that Frunze used to incorporate new ideas into his Marxist frame of reference. Despite many other changes, Frunze continued to maintain that the Red Army's class character engendered an offensive spirit until his death later that year.¹⁵

Other reforms that Frunze began to implement included creating "national formations" of troops that were not ethnic Russians.¹⁶ Frunze also created eight military districts that corresponded to eight military fronts (army groups), greatly improving command and control between Red Army commanders and their forces. Finally, though units had military commissars for the express purpose of teaching Marxist thought to worker-soldiers, Frunze made commanders also responsible for political education within their units. Though the commissars were not replaced, with this directive their influence was somewhat reduced.¹⁷ Frunze's purpose in this might have been to retain the power in the hands of military commanders rather than relinquish direct control over the Red Army to the political apparatus. In all the reforms that Frunze implemented, budgetary considerations of the young Soviet State played a vital role in the process of compromise. While not the solution that the Bolsheviks wanted to implement, the realities of money and resources had to take precedence over ideology.

In January 1925, Frunze replaced Trotsky as Commissar of War, and as the Chairman of the REVVOENSOV. On 19 May 1925, Frunze explained to the Central Committee the need for long-term strategic and military-economic preparation. Frunze used the results of the analysis of the First World War, his own personal observations as a

military commander during the Russian Civil War, his as well as his understanding of the nature of the conflict between Communism and Capitalism, as taught by Marx and Engels, to frame his argument. He said that the “preconditions for a war are maturing and that war may become inevitable. It might not break out for a few years time, but the Soviet Union had to be prepared for all contingencies.”¹⁸ The main contingency was capital encirclement. Frunze had explicitly defined the threat posed by Capitalist encirclement as one demanding constant vigilance and military preparations. To him, and to the Party leadership, the nature of the Capitalist threat confronting the Soviet State was quite clear. Frunze said that the coming battle against Capitalism would have two characteristics that would be different from wars in the past. The first characteristic was that the next war would be a global revolutionary class war, a continuation of the events of the Russian Civil War, but on a much grander scale. The second characteristic was marked by the integrated relations between the social, political, and economic elements within the entire society. This insight was described by Frunze in his article entitled *The Front and Rear in Future War*.

In the spring of 1925, Frunze began to focus his efforts on developing the long-term strategic and military-economic preparation of the Soviet State. Frunze wrote *The Front and Rear in Future War*, which showed that future war would be a long and cruel contest that would subject to trial all of the economic and political bases of the belligerent sides. Based on the research about the First World War that Frunze had directed his military academy to conduct, Frunze surmised that the strategy of future war would not be one of lightning fast, decisive blows, but one of attrition.¹⁹ This directly impacted the responsibilities of the Soviet State to prepare itself to wage and win this type of war, and

as the Commissar of War, it fell to Frunze to implement those changes that would prepare the Red Army to fight and win future wars. While this seemed to contradict Frunze's earlier comments about maneuver, it did not violate any of his pillars of success: seize the initiative, conduct offensive operations, and maintain Party loyalty. With the ability to place new information into his established framework, Frunze was able to adapt to this new outlook and continue to be a force for Red Army transformation.

According to Frunze, one major characteristic of future conflicts would be its highly technical nature. As a result, Frunze placed a much greater emphasis on new technology such as aviation, armor, and chemical weapons, and strongly advocated devoting the bulk of Soviet resources to creating Armies of this type of technical equipment. This would allow the Soviet State to retain the initiative and conduct offensive operations. Finally, Frunze described the enormity of the military effort that would be required in the next war as "mass engaged on the battlefield."²⁰ He referred to the concept of total war, the complete mobilization of all aspects of society focused on the war effort.

Towards the end of his career, Frunze was showing signs of independence of spirit and antagonism towards interference from other Soviet agencies in Red Army affairs.²¹ According to John Erickson, by the summer of 1925, Frunze was trying to protect the army from Joseph Stalin's major instrument of power: the State security system.

Mikhail Frunze died on 31 October 1925 from complications while in surgery for stomach ulcers, perhaps under mysterious circumstances. Frunze was laid to rest in Red Square behind Lenin's mausoleum on 3 November 1925. His grave was marked with a

marble bust; only six such Soviets were given this honor, and Frunze was the only military figure to be so enshrined.²² After Frunze's death, several years passed before his concepts were widely accepted as basic. In 1928, the first edition of the Big Soviet Encyclopedia carried Frunze's definition of Unified Military Doctrine.²³

¹Condoleezza Rice, "The Making of Soviet Strategy", in Peter Paret, ed. *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, (Princeton: Princeton UP), 1986, 658.

²*Ibid.*, 660.

³John Erickson, *The Soviet High Command: A Military-Political History, 1918-1941* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1944), 173-175.

⁴*Ibid.*, 283.

⁵Walter Darnell Jacobs, *Mikhail Vasilyevich Frunze and the Unified Military Doctrine* (New York: Columbia University Dissertation in Political Science, 1961), 139.

⁶*Ibid.*, 142.

⁷Erickson, 187-8.

⁸*Ibid.*, 296.

⁹Jacobs, 45.

¹⁰Rice, 656.

¹¹Jacobs, 45.

¹²Rice, 659.

¹³*Ibid.*, 652.

¹⁴Jacob W. Kipp, *Mass, Mobility, and the Red Army's Road to Operational Art, 1918-1936* (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Soviet Army Studies Office, 1990) 11.

¹⁵Matthew M. Hurley, *A Worker's Way of War: The Red Army's Doctrinal Debate, 1918-1924* (Thesis, University of Washington, 1991), 102.

¹⁶Erickson, 184.

¹⁷Ibid., 197.

¹⁸Ibid., 210-211.

¹⁹Hurley, 102.

²⁰Erickson, 283.

²¹Ibid., 199-200.

²²Jacobs, 1.

²³Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya (Big Soviet Encyclopedia), 1st ed., volume 12, 1928, 163.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

While Frunze began the UMD process with firm convictions regarding the direction which the Red Army must travel due to its very nature, in the end, the reforms he implemented were compromised due to the limited resources of the Soviet State. Frunze was successful in implementing a comprehensive system of political education within the Red Army, thereby providing both direction and purpose to the worker-soldiers of the Red Army. However, some scholars argue that Frunze's views regarding UMD eroded over time. According to Hurley, Frunze was ambivalent to one-man command and administrative reorganization, and had spoken out against the militia system, and was forced to compromise his position.¹ According to Jacobs, the military reforms of 1924 were different than those suggested by Frunze in 1921-22 in his writings on UMD. In contrast to Hurley, Jacobs writes that of the four main military reforms in 1924, Frunze was an advocate of three of them (intensification of training, one man command, reorganization of military and administrative apparatus), and only opposed to the concept of the territorial militia system.² The political education of the worker-soldier, couched in terms of Marxist thought was not the crux of the UMD issue, though it was the base on which the true changes must stand. With Marxist doctrine as its base, Frunze could then transform the Red Army in many directions, including training, equipping, organizing, and leading. Unfortunately, due to his untimely death, Frunze was not able to implement many of his more far-reaching reforms, such as universal literacy, effective tactical training and problem solving, and the development and implementation of advanced technology. However, because many of the transformational changes of the

Red Army over the next twelve years were implemented by Frunze's former subordinates, the impact that Frunze had on the transformation of the Red Army was staggering.

It is to Frunze that the Soviet Union owes the legacy of a whole nation that devoted itself to the preparation for war and the creation of the Soviet garrison State. He argued for the militarization of key industries and the centralization of authority in military decision-making.³ Some scholars may argue that the most important concept that Frunze passed down to the Soviet military leadership was to prepare the whole country for war.⁴

According to Frunze's view of UMD, Soviet military strategy was created on two levels: one political and the other military technical. The right to direct the course of Soviet military development theoretically rests with the Party. However, the expertise to deal with the science of contemporary warfare is found in the professional military officer. Much of the history of the development of Soviet doctrine is made up of efforts to find a balance between the two worlds.⁵ The political side is said to be superior, but either considered alone is likely to lead to a failure to understand the complexity of Soviet military thought.⁶ According to Condoleezza Rice, Frunze never succeeded in clarifying whether the political or the military was at the core of his argument.⁷ However, Frunze believed that the political must be at the core; the military was the facilitator for Marxist doctrine, and through Marx, implemented the policies of the State to meet its political objectives.

The integration and subordination between the political and technical aspects of military strategy, as developed by Frunze, was first formed through study of Marx,

political experiences through agitation and leadership of cells, and military experiences in the Russian Civil War. Karl Marx stated that “The Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it”⁸ Mikhail Frunze had been a true believer of Marx since 1904. At that time, he devoted the remainder of his life to help build a system where the precepts of Marx and Engels could manifest themselves as a more perfect world. Frunze placed himself on the front lines of the Bolshevik cause on numerous occasions, such as student-led demonstrations in 1904, the revolution of 1905, the Ivanovo-Voznesensk strike in the summer of 1905, agitation in Minsk during the First World War, active participation in the October Revolution, and leadership of local and regional Party apparatuses. As a result of his early political experiences with agitation, political organization, revolts, and uprisings, Frunze began to see military questions through a framework of three pillars. These pillars consisted of seizing the initiative, conducting offensive operations, and maintaining Party loyalty.

However when he became a Red Army commander, and a highly successful military leader in the Russian Civil War, he realized that theory must be tempered with realism. Frunze confirmed his framework of three pillars while serving as a military leader in the Russian Civil War, but then realized that some of Engels’ concepts would have to be modified in order to implement them in the case of Russia. He also discovered that the peasant and the worker each have their own strengths, and that to harness the true differences that exist for the proletariat, that class of workers that was quite small in the early days of the Soviet State, he must both emphasize and modify Marxist thought. Frunze’s experiences in the Russian Civil War probably taught him that a military force that is not implementing the goals of the State will be ineffective, and that the full

resources of the State must work in conjunction in order to accomplish the State's objectives. By the start of the UMD debate, Frunze had begun to fuse political theory with military application, understanding that the bedrock beliefs within the military must coincide with the basic beliefs of the State, in this case, Marxist doctrine. In each successive military and political role, Mikhail Frunze continued to advocate the precepts of Marx as he interpreted them through his proven framework, each new piece of information fitting into his framework like an amorphous jigsaw puzzle. It may be argued that Frunze never had a clear idea of the exact dimensions of UMD, but like the aforementioned puzzle, Frunze was aware that, whatever its eventual shape, the framework must correspond to the beliefs of the State. While his direct influence over the transformation of the Red Army was cut short due to his untimely death, the foundation that he laid for his successors culminated in the implementation of the Unified Military Doctrine in the USSR.

¹Matthew M. Hurley, *A Worker's Way of War: The Red Army's Doctrinal Debate, 1918-1924* (Thesis, University of Washington, 1991), 101.

²Walter Darnell Jacobs, *Mikhail Vasilyevich Frunze and the Unified Military Doctrine* (New York: Columbia University Dissertation in Political Science, 1961), 94.

³Condoleezza Rice, "The Making of Soviet Strategy", in Paret, Peter, ed. *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986), 660.

⁴*Ibid.*, 663.

⁵*Ibid.*, 675.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Ibid.*, 658.

⁸Sigmund Neumann and Mark von Hagen, *Engels and Marx on Revolution, War, and the Army in Society*, in Paret, Peter, ed. *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986), 262.

GLOSSARY

<u>Page</u>	<u>Acronym/Abbreviation/Definition</u>
2	UMD Unified Military Doctrine
2	USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
5	RSFSR Russian Soviet Federation Socialist Republic
6	RKKA Worker's and Peasant's Red Army, more commonly known as the Red Army
6	REVVOENSOV Revolutionary Military Council
6	Doctrine Fundamental principles by which military forces guide their actions in support of national objectives
6	Bolshevik Lenin's faction in the 1903 Social Democratic Party split
14	RSDRP Russian Social-Democrat Worker's Party, also known as the Bolshevik Party and later as the Communist Party
24	NARKOMVOEN People's Military Command
36	Turkistan Present day Central Asia
48	Yedinnaya Unified, universal or one. Possible translations for the "U" in UMD

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